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CONTENTS

	PAGE
What happened to the Great Seal of James II? by Hilary Jenkinson, C.B.E., F.S.A.	I
Recent Discoveries at All Hallows, Barking, by T. D. Kendrick, F.B.A. (Secretary), and C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.S.A. . .	14
A List of Brochs and Broch Sites, by A. Graham, F.S.A. . .	19
The Harrington Effigy in Cartmel Priory, by J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A.	26
Some Unknown English Embroideries of the Fifteenth Century, by Betty Kurth	31
Late Neolithic Grooved Ware near Cambridge, by D. H. S. Frere	34
The Dictionary of British Arms: Report of Progress, by Anthony R. Wagner, F.S.A., Richmond Herald, General Editor	42
Notes (see list on next page)	48
Reviews (see list on next page)	60
Periodical Literature; Bibliography; Proceedings	68



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NOTES

A Twelfth-century Copper Cross from Scania, 48.—Neolithic 'B' pottery from near Eynsham, 51.—Stone axe found at North Petherton, Somerset, 52.—A flint implement in a horn handle from near Liddington Castle, Wilts., 52.—Old Malton Priory, 53.—A medieval description of a bow and arrow, 54.—A Bronze Age hoard from Sturry, Kent, 55.—Two Prehistoric Mortars, 56.—Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Nassington, Northants., 58.—A Belgic clay pot-stand, 58.

REVIEWS

Rostovtzeff, <i>The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World</i>	60
Dunbar, <i>The Rock Pictures of Lower Nubia</i>	63
Lindqvist, <i>Gotlands Bildsteine</i> , Vol. I	64
Wessens, <i>Sveriges Runinskrifter</i> , Vol. VI	64
Atkinson, <i>Report on Excavations at Wroxeter (the Roman City of Viroconium) in the County of Salop, 1923-1927</i>	66

THE PLACE-NAMES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND THE ISLE OF ELY

By P. H. REANEY

English Place-Name Society

Volume XIX 23s. 6d. net

Most of the material for this volume had been collected before the war, the documents available in this county, especially in the College Libraries, being particularly numerous. A full survey of field-names has also been attempted, much of the material being obtained by co-operation with schools in the county. A review of the whole evidence of this volume makes it abundantly clear that the place-names of Cambridgeshire fully agree with the other archaeological indications of an early settlement of the area.

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VOL. X

The Antiquaries Journal

Vol. XXIII

Jan.—April 1943

Nos. 1, 2

What happened to the Great Seal of James II?¹

By HILARY JENKINSON, C.B.E., F.S.A.

The popular story.

HISTORIANS seldom trouble themselves much about the Great Seal of England; but that of James II forms an exception. Contemporary rumour seems to have associated it closely with the king's first flight from London, in disguise and by night, on 11 December 1688; and, from the contemporary Bishop Burnet² and Rapin³ down to Miss Foxcroft in our own day,⁴ historians and memoir-writers of the period, with few exceptions of importance,⁵ have accepted this invitation to the picturesque. For the student of seals these excursions into his subject are flattering but rather embarrassing: Charles Bertie (in a letter to Danby),⁶ Burnet, Lord Campbell, and the second Earl of Clarendon (who quotes a letter of Barillon, the French Ambassador); Sir John Dalrymple and the Ellis correspondence; Miss Foxcroft; Halifax; King James himself; John Heneage Jesse and Bishop Kennett; Lingard, Sir Richard Lodge, and Narcissus Luttrell; Macaulay, Sir James Mackintosh (or his editor), and James Macpherson; Ranke, Rapin, Reresby, Smollett, Temperley—they are all in a tale. But not all, unfortunately, in the same tale. The king 'took away' the Great Seal; he was prepared *l'emporter au besoin*; he destroyed it; he told

¹ These notes, compiled in the intervals of war-time occupations, would have suffered much more than they have done from the effects of war conditions but for the kindness of numerous friends and colleagues. To the names mentioned in various footnotes below I must add those of Mr. C. H. Digby-Seymour, Town Clerk of Worcester, and Mr. Vivian Collett, City Councillor of the same, and my colleagues, Mr. P. V. Davies and Mr. H. N. Blakiston, and this by no means exhausts the list of my correspondents.

² Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, *History of his own time*, 1724–34.

³ Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, *History of England* (transl. N. Tindal), 1732, 1733.

⁴ H. C. Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, Bart., first Marquis of Halifax* . . . , 1898. See also her edition of Burnet, 1902.

⁵ Among contemporary writers who seem to be silent on the point are Sir John Bramston, Evelyn, Romney (Henry Sidney), and Stebbing in his continuation (1707) of Sandford's *Genealogical History*. But I should add that a number of Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (for instance, those on Buccleuch, Dartmouth, Fleming, Kenyon, Leeds, Leyborne Popham, Portland, and Stopford Sackville MSS.) have also been searched without success.

⁶ Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on *Lindsey MSS.*, p. 454.

someone to throw it in the Thames; he flung it into the river himself; he gave it to the queen (who presumably took it to France with her); it was carried off by Jeffreys; it was delivered to the king by Jeffreys; the king took the seal and Jeffreys took the 'purse'—here truly is sufficient variety. The writers, in fact, agree in little save in telling a story of some kind about the Great Seal and giving no authority for it. James himself in a document of 1693¹ says merely (or his officials say for him) that he destroyed it. (The document is in fact an order for a (second) new seal, to be engraved apparently by one of the continental members of that Roettier family whom we are to mention below.)² The story most generally accepted has been that the king threw it in the Thames during the first stage of his flight on 11 December, to which a certain number add sensational sequels: according to these it was recovered later³ in a fisherman's net⁴ and 'restored to the Government'.⁵

A family of seal engravers—the Roettiers.

The present contribution may begin *ab ovo* by noting that James's Great Seal was made⁶ by John Roettier,⁷ described as 'Chief Graver of the Mint': the eldest (and according to contemporary opinion⁸ the best artist) of three brothers who from 1661⁹ all worked on coins, medals, and seals at the Mint in the Tower, where they had a house and garden;¹⁰ receiving a pension or annuity as well as salary and special payments. Two of the brothers went off to the mints at Paris and Brussels,¹¹ but John, with his two sons James and Norbert, continued to flourish in

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Stuart Papers preserved at Windsor Castle*, p. 77. 'When we were convinced that it was absolutely necessary for us to withdraw for a time from our Kingdom . . . we have thought fit to destroy our Great Seal of our Kingdom of England.' Sir Richard Lodge (*Political History of England*, ed. Hunt and Poole, viii (1910), p. 295) finds in this support for the story of the Thames: for which I can see no justification.

² I have resisted here the temptation to a fascinating by-path: but it would be interesting to know how long the exiled Stuarts continued to have a Great Seal and how far evidence of its form survives in the shape of impressions. The document quoted mentions an earlier Great Seal made for James, after his departure from England, by the same engraver which was 'not so beautiful' as was desirable. The papers of families known to have had grants of 'Jacobite Peerages' (see G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, new edition, vol. i, App. F) might produce some tangible evidence as to these, and perhaps later, seals.

³ Burnet, Campbell, Dalrymple, Jesse, Macaulay, and Temperley.

⁴ Burnet, Campbell, Dalrymple, and Jesse.

⁵ Jesse. Dalrymple says that it was 'brought to London', and Campbell that it was handed over to 'the Lords of the Council'.

⁶ He had a Warrant for £212. 19s. 2d. (*Calendar of Treasury Books*, viii, p. 628) of 3 March 1686, for his labour in 'making, graving, blanching and finishing our new Great Seal in October last' after deduction of £30. 8s. 4d. for 115 ounces 17 pennyweight of silver which he had received for the said seal.

⁷ The name appears under numerous variations of spelling.

⁸ See *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1556/7-1697*, p. 53: under date 1689.

⁹ *Ibid.*, giving the date of their patent as 1669: but a later report (*Treasury Papers, 1697-1701/2*, p. 195) says they had an earlier grant in 1661.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, viii, pp. 291 *et al.*

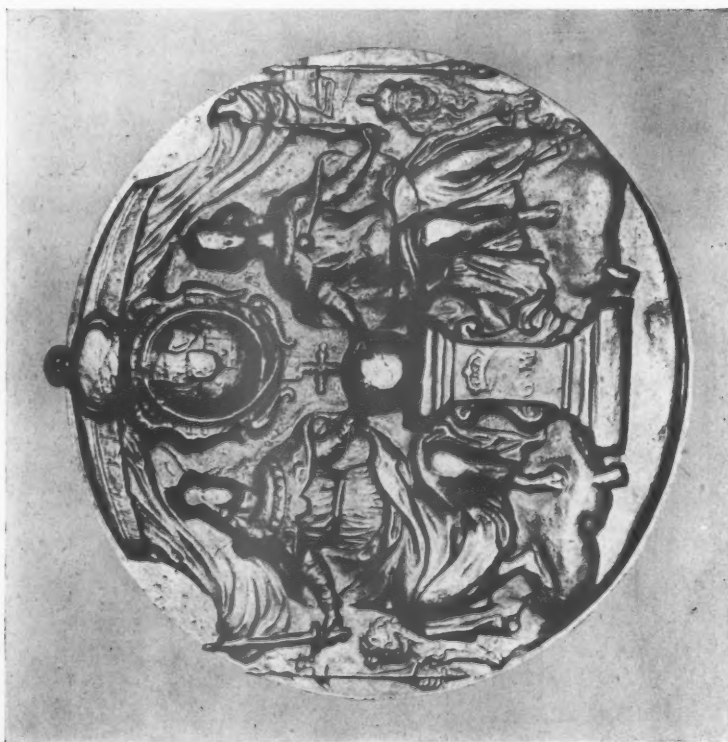
¹¹ *Treasury Papers*, *loc. cit.*



2. Reverse of the Great Seal of William and Mary, from a document in the possession of the Corporation of Hereford



1. Reverse of the Great Seal of James II, from a document in the possession of the Carpenters' Company



1. Obverse of the Great Seal of William and Mary, from a document in the possession of the Corporation of Hereford



2. Model for the reverse of a Great Seal of William and Mary, from a cast in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries

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England, though suffering at intervals (one infers) from the jealousy of the native-born Mint officials, till about 1697.¹ Their family history was the subject of investigation by J. H. Burn in 1841² and in later works³ and need not therefore be discussed in detail here; though there is a certain amount to be added from sources which have been made available in more recent years. It is not impossible that the seal of Charles II while in exile, an impression of which I exhibited to the Society some years ago, may have been their work.⁴

Another family of seal engravers—the Wyons.

This apart, my interest in the seal of James results from nothing more out of the way than a glance at three of the plates, and at the account of them and of the events of 1688 and 1689, in Wyon.⁵ It is unfortunate that everything which one sets out to write on the subject of the Great Seal should seem to involve some criticism of this work;⁶ and since I have not done so very lately I should like to repeat here that students owe and will probably continue to owe (because it is unlikely that anyone will contrive to publish in the near future a new book on the same scale and with the extensions which would now be necessary) a very considerable debt to its authors. Themselves inheritors of an old family connexion⁷ with the engraving of royal seals, they collected an enormous mass of information from scattered sources, cleared up a great deal that had been obscure, and gave us a much needed reference book with illustrations which, considering the time at which they appeared, were of outstanding merit. On the other hand, it must be regretfully added that, if any point of importance is involved, neither their statements nor their plates can be accepted without checking: for their cast-maker would seem to have been capable of anything; and they themselves, if, as they state, they examined personally every seal-impression they record, must sometimes either have noted very inadequately or forgotten very completely what they saw: nor is their standard of accuracy very high in other respects. It is particularly unfortunate that they never identify their illustrations by reference to any one of the examples they list: my own impression is that, in some in-

¹ They seem to have been finally 'turned out' of their appointments, and of the house, in 1697 (*Calendar of Treasury Books*, xi, p. 358: xii, pp. 75 and 186, and xiii, p. 40. See also *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1697-1702, pp. 195, 437).

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, iii, 158.

³ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xlix (1897), and L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (1904). I am indebted to Mr. A. J. Collins for a note.

⁴ The grant of 1661 is said to have been made to them because the king had experience of their skill.

⁵ A. B. and Allan Wyon, *The Great Seals of England*, 1887.

⁶ My previous *addenda* to Wyon are printed in *Antiq. Journ.* xi (1931), xvi (1936), and xviii (1938), and in *Archaeologia*, lxxxv (1935).

⁷ Their elder brother, father, and grandfather all in turn had held the office of seal-engraver to the Crown.

stances at least, they were unable to do so; having simply given an order to their cast-maker and accepted what he provided.

Seal of James II: the story as told by Campbell.

The present story as given by Wyon appears to be taken¹ from the *Life of Judge Jeffreys* by Campbell.² According to this James sent for his Chancellor, obtained from him, and burned, such of the writs for a new Parliament as he had not yet issued, and received from him also the Great Seal; 'having laid the plan of destroying it in the belief that without it the government would not be continued': and later, as he crossed the Thames with Sir Edward Hales, he 'threw the Great Seal into the water and thought he had sunk with it for ever the fortunes of the Prince of Orange'.

After some description of the events which followed the flight of James and the discovery, arrest, and interrogation of Jeffreys, Campbell adds 'Meanwhile, the Great Seal, the *Clavis Regni*, the emblem of sovereign sway, which had been thrown into the Thames that it might never reach the Prince of Orange, was found in the net of a fisherman near Lambeth, and was delivered by him to the Lords of the Council, who were resolved to place it in the hands of the founder of the new dynasty'. To my regret I have not succeeded in tracing any contemporary source (or indeed any other) from which Campbell can have borrowed that last categorical statement. He quotes Dalrymple, but that writer only says in comment on the tale of the fisherman's net that 'Heaven seemed by this accident to declare that the laws, the constitution, and the sovereignty of Great Britain were not to depend on the frailty of man'. Still less does Campbell rely on Burnet, who says nothing about what happened after the fisherman made his haul and whom he reproves for 'displaying his usual inaccuracy and credulity' in saying that the seal was fished up in the following summer and that it was 'with difficulty drawn to the shore' because of its weight: which makes yet another puzzle, because Burnet in his *History* does not mention either the summer or the weight.³ In point of fact a plain man, reflecting on the nature of great seal matrices, fishermen's nets, and the Thames bottom, might very well find in those physical facts the most difficult part of the story: the question of date is another matter.

¹ If it is so (and Campbell is the only authority Wyon cites) there is here a good example of the way in which a story grows by relation: for Wyon's version contains some details which do not appear in Campbell nor, so far as I know, anywhere else.

² John, Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*. I have used the fourth edition (1857), vol. iv, pp. 404, 405, 412.

³ Burnet (editions already cited and edition (containing the *History of James II* only) published at Oxford, 1852) says 'some months after'. Macaulay has changed 'some' into 'many'. Miss Foxcroft, in the *Supplement* to her edition, p. 301, prints an interesting variant from Burnet's original *Memoirs*—'it seems he disposed of the great seal; for it was cast into the river above Fox-Hall; . . . but whether it was dropped there on design or lost is not yet known.' The 'not yet' must be a more or less contemporary note.

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Whatever may be the exact truth in regard to what happened in the early hours of 11 December 1688, we may, I think, take it as near to a certainty that James meant to embarrass any Government which might attempt to succeed him, and, however inefficient his effort may eventually have proved, did for a time and in a measure succeed.¹ The Great Seal at this date was far from being only an 'emblem of Sovereign Sway': *par les lois d'Angleterre*, says a contemporary letter of the French Ambassador, *on ne peut rien faire sans le grand sceau*;² and though this is an exaggeration, the seal certainly did not deserve the humorous description as a 'mystic legal talisman' which a modern writer has bestowed on it. Actually it was an essential part of the machinery of state; without which there was no known means of putting through a number of pieces of public business which were just those that a new Government would most immediately wish to do. The question of what happened to it, and what (if it was destroyed) was put in its place after James's final flight, is therefore by no means unimportant.

Seal of William and Mary: the evidence in Records.

We turn for further information to the records, but unfortunately not with all the success we would wish. The *Privy Council Register*,³ as might be expected, is a blank for the period of excited comings and goings and discussion of the constitutional position which lasted from James's final departure on 24 December till 13 February, when the Crown was offered to and accepted by William and Mary; there is no entry after 16 December in the old volume, and the new one begins with the meeting of 14 February. If the 'Lords of the Council' did receive the seal and did carry it to the new sovereign or sovereigns, neither they nor the Secretaries of State⁴ seem to have left any trace of the transaction in their records. On the other hand, at the next meeting of the Council (16 February) after the proclamation of the new sovereigns, a Clerk of the Petty Bag was instructed to make copies of all commissions granted by Oliver Cromwell for the custody of the Great Seal and by 1 March some means of authenticating such an instrument were apparently available; for a commission of that date to Sir John Maynard, Anthony Keck, esquire, and William Rawlinson, esquire, is entered on the dorse of the *Patent Roll*,⁵ and they were sworn

¹ See, for example, in the narrative of Halifax (printed by Miss Foxcroft in her *Life of Halifax*, cited above, ii, 58) the account of the interrogation of Jeffreys. I am indebted to Miss Foxcroft for a note on this point.

² Barillon, quoted in *Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon* (1828), ii, 223, n.

³ P.C. 2, numbers 72 and 73. Like all the other records cited here, these are at the moment not available in London: and I am indebted to my colleague Mr. H. C. Johnson for making the necessary search.

⁴ The relevant volumes of *State Papers Domestic* have been calendared.

⁵ C. 66/3325. The only entries of earlier date are two proclamations of 28 February; and the earliest entry on the face of the roll is dated 4 March. I am indebted for this search also to Mr. H. C. Johnson.

four days later.¹ The records of the Crown Office supply a little additional evidence at this point, though it is difficult to determine its implications: the *Docquet Book* records the sealing of three separate commissions for the Commissioners 'before the King in the Council Chamber' on 6 March: but the usual memorandum of the delivery of the seal is not made, nor is there any note of a writ for the temporary use of the old seal such as we sometimes find.² The records of the Treasury³ show that by April two of the Roettier family were petitioning for payment for the work of engraving a Great Seal: but these entries do not give the details which might have been found had either their original petition survived or the comments on it by officials of the Mint, to whom the Treasury referred it.

The evidence of the Seals.

What did happen to the seal of James II? and what was done about a new one for William and Mary? We turn as a last resort to the seals themselves as illustrated by Wyon and find at once a most unexpected and surprising answer to both questions. Whatever may have been its adventures *en route*, the Great Seal of James apparently did find its way to his successors, for, with part of a female figure and some indications of a horse clumsily inserted in inadequate space, and with a new legend, *the reverse half of the matrix seems to have been used by William and Mary*: and, what is more, it continued to serve, if Wyon is correct, down to the queen's death in 1694. Wyon duly notes⁴ a Privy Council order of 23 May⁵ (after the recognition of the new sovereigns in Scotland) for one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to 'prepare a warrant for His Majesty's royal signature for the engraving of a new Great Seal of England, a new Privy Seal and new Signets with the addition of the arms of Scotland to be engraven to those of England'; but says that this did not take effect: and he is supported by the fact that no entry of payment for such work seems to figure in the Treasury records. He has noted nine impressions of the Great Seal in this reign, the first on a document of 11 March 1689 and others of dates from 5 April 1690 to 28 July 1692.⁶ I have not been able to see the first nor all of the others, and on those I have inspected the shield of arms is so much defaced as to be partly or wholly illegible: but I should not be surprised to find presently an example of some date after May 1689, which should add one to the list of English Great Seals by exhibiting the altered arms. In view of what we shall see below it would not seem impossible that the phrase 'a new Great Seal' should be applied to the mere alteration of the old matrix; and as this alteration

¹ P.C. 2/73, p. 27.

² I am again indebted to Mr. Johnson for this note.

³ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, ix, p. 88, under date 22 April: see also p. 273, under dates 3, 8, and 11 October; and p. 705 under date 16 June 1690.

⁴ pp. 111, 140.

⁵ P.C. 2/73, p. 125.

⁶ He also notes one example of use after the queen's death: see below, p. 13, f.n. 2.



2. Reverse of the Great Seal of William III, from a document in the Public Record Office



1. Reverse of the Great Seal of James II, from a document in the possession of the Carpenters' Company



1. Obverse of the Great Seal of James II, from a document in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London.



2. Obverse of the Great Seal of William III, from a document in the Public Record Office.

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THE GREAT SEAL OF JAMES II

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would be a very simple one (the substitution of the lion rampant for the harp in the second quarter) the cost of the engraving might well escape specific recording. This, however, must await proof or disproof when more examples are available. Wyon also notes¹ an order for a new Great Seal in 1694, which he presumes not to have been executed owing to the death of the queen at the end of that year.

This identification (to come back to our main point) of the seals of the two sovereigns is so surprising (if only because it has not been made before) that one might hesitate to make it now if the thing did not leap to the eye the moment impressions² from the original and the altered seal are placed in juxtaposition (pl. 1). Apart from the sketchy rendering of the queen's figure, and its impossible pose high in air on an impossible horse (with hooves planted on the surface of the Thames!), the position and size of the king's effigy are alone enough to show that there is something wrong: no engraver charged with the task of preparing a new design representing two horsed figures in that space (and, by the way, the queen's presence was certainly not less important than that of her husband) could have dreamed of making the king's effigy of that size or putting it in that central position. Moreover, it happens that King James's figure on his Great Seal had been made very distinctive in more than one respect: there is no mistaking his unusual dress as a Roman General (or something of the kind), the length of his sword, and the angle at which it is held, and half a dozen other points: and measurements correspond exactly.³ The test used, which I think reasonably conclusive, was to make a matrix of the horse and rider from an impression of the seal of William and Mary⁴ and lay it on the corresponding part of the impression from that of James; which it fitted.

It is difficult indeed to see how Wyon and his editor, themselves both experienced seal-engravers, could have failed to make these observations in writing the descriptions of their two plates: but perhaps the explanation lies in the very fact of their practical experience. They studied James's seal carefully—but it was in order to contrast it with that of his brother and predecessor: they bestowed an equal attention on the seal of William and Mary—but merely to compare it with the

¹ pp. III, 141.

² The Seal-impression of James is from a document dated 19 March 1686 in the possession of The Worshipful Company of Carpenters: I am much indebted to the Clerk of the Company, Mr. H. C. Osborne, M.C., for his assistance. That of William and Mary is from a document dated 5 April 1690 in the possession of the Corporation of Hereford: I must record my grateful thanks to the Town Clerk, Mr. T. B. Feltham, who was good enough to have photographs specially made for me.

³ Wyon has unwittingly obscured the matter further by giving the diameter of James's seal as 5.6 in. and that of William and Mary's as 5.9. This may have been due to his measuring casts—or perhaps even photographs—instead of original impressions.

⁴ On a document dated 15 May 1691 kindly put at my disposal by the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough: I have to thank their Treasurer, our Fellow, Mr. W. T. Mellows, for his good offices.

only other (the beautiful Great Seal of Philip and Mary) on which husband and wife figure together. It did not occur to them to compare what seemed to them *non comparanda*, a single-figure seal with a double-figure one. It is the result of approaching seals from an iconographic and pictorial, rather than an administrative, angle; and it is only fair to add that Birch, working at about the same time on the first volume of the British Museum *Catalogue of Seals*, failed likewise to make the concatenation.

The use of one Great Seal in successive reigns.

The use of one sovereign's seal, with or without alteration, by his successor in title—even by a series of his successors—is a not uncommon feature in the history of the Great Seal: Wyon has duly noted a number of instances and recent research has added to them considerably, especially in the field of 'Deputed' seals.¹ From Henry III to (at least) Henry VIII every reign has thus contributed, in one way or another (by borrowing or lending or both), to the confusion of the modern antiquary; and the practice has been not unknown in our own time.² There is even precedent for the use by a conqueror of the Great Seal of his extruded rival.³ But the present instance is remarkable both for the political circumstances which framed it and for the extent of the alterations which had to be effected in the seal matrix. Three further questions immediately suggest themselves: what was the motive? and what the means employed? and incidentally who carried out the work?

The reason.

As to the motive it is tempting to speculate. Undoubtedly it was to the interest of the new government to dwell both on the ineffectiveness of King James and on the continuity of the sovereign power taken over from him by his daughter and her husband. Are we then to conclude that the continued use of his Great Seal was a piece of propaganda, making skilful use of that providential recovery of the matrices? or were the fisherman's net and the rest, to put it politely, an aetiological myth? Was the legend of the seal's recovery only invented *after* the seal had

¹ See my articles in *Antiquaries Journal* and *Archaeologia* already cited.

² A Great Seal of King Edward VII was still in use in the King's Remembrancer's Department in 1935.

³ The Brétigny Seal of Edward III, which had been altered for Richard II, was used by Henry IV, and for that matter, his son and grandson. Wyon also states that Henry VI during his brief restoration (October 1470–April 1471) used the seal of Edward IV.

I take the opportunity to record a new and particularly curious example of the same thing which came to my notice, while this article was in the press, through the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Herbert Wood and Mr. A. G. Madan, Curator of the Torquay Museum. From an Exemplification of a Recovery at present in the possession of that Museum it appears that so late as November 1660, six months after the Restoration, and on a document otherwise completely restored to pre-Revolution form (i.e. in the use of legal writing and the Latin language), the Court of Common Pleas could still use the Commonwealth Seal, showing the Parliament and Map of England!

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been taken back into use? Alternatively, the motives which dictated the use of one half of the old seal may have been nothing more romantic or unusual than those which presumably ruled in most, if not all, of the other cases of altered seals which we have cited—economy and convenience. It was convenient to continue in use a well-recognized design, very convenient to get the new (or changed) matrix as quickly as possible, and economical to spend as little as possible on engraving: and indeed in the case of some other seals altered for William and Mary which we shall mention below, the motive of economy is actually named. On the other hand, the changes in this particular case were so considerable that the saving in time and money cannot have been very great; the result was inevitably so clumsy that even the most rigid economist (one would think) must have hesitated to accept it without some other powerful reason; and certainly any good engraver (and the men who did this work, James and Norbert Roettier,¹ were good engravers) must have disliked putting a hand to it. There is also one other small piece of evidence which may help us, if we wish, to cling to the legend of the seal provisionally recovered in time to serve the need of the new monarchs.

The obverse of the seal had of course to be made new—no ingenuity could get a second seated figure in by the side of that of King James: and though no record has been found of the order being given, we know that this work and the alteration of the reverse matrix had been done (if Wyon is correct in his dating of a document at Salisbury²) by 11 March; certainly before April when the engravers were petitioning for their payment. Now there is in the British Museum³ what appears to be an incomplete model for the equestrian side (only) of a Great Seal of William and Mary. I have not been able to see this owing to war conditions, but have little doubt that it is the original of a cast in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, here reproduced (pl. 11) side by side with an impression of the Roettiers' obverse of William and Mary enthroned, from the impression already cited in the possession of the Corporation of Hereford.⁴ Mr. A. J. Collins tells me that the British Museum specimen (which is now described as of 'soft' or 'lithographic' stone) was presented in 1832 by Scipio Clint (1805–39), medallist and seal-engraver, who is known to have given the Museum one example of his own work; and that in the circumstances it has been assumed that this also was cut by him. Without going into questions of style (which is indeed impossible at the moment) I find

¹ I am indebted to my colleague Mr. Charles Johnson for checking various entries in *Treasury Books* (T. 53/10, pp. 106 and 392; T. 60/3, p. 34) which show orders to pay John and James Roettier. But a memorandum dated 2 July 1689 (*Treasury Papers*, 1556/7–1697, p. 53) states that the work was done by John's two sons without his assistance.

² In the possession of the Dean and Chapter. Owing to war precautions I have not been able to check it.

³ *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. i, p. 69, n.

⁴ In the present reproduction the legend has been blocked out.

it difficult to believe that Clint, nearly 150 years later, should deliberately have selected as a subject the figures of William and Mary on a circle of exactly the right size for a Great Seal,¹ deliberately based his background detail on the accepted convention (a view of the Thames), and deliberately left this uncompleted and omitted the legend and border: or that, if he had done all these things, he should have chosen this particular specimen of his work for presentation to the Museum. On the other hand, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that he collected specimens of the work of others in his own craft and that he presented this one to the place where proofs and models, as well as original impressions of seals, were pre-eminently welcome. I offer therefore, with all reserve, the suggestion that the Roettiers may have received an order for both sides of a new Great Seal and that this may be their model for the one which was not used;² leaving the reader to indulge, if he choose, the pleasing speculation that its discontinuation point may represent the moment when the fisherman drew his net to the shore, or at any rate paid his visit to the 'Lords of the Council'. The reader can, if he likes, go even further and attribute to the same cause the cutting down of the engravers' bill from £241. 4s. od. to £206. 16s. od.,³ after scrutiny by the officials of the Mint: but of this there are, I fear, a good many other possible explanations. It is possible, of course, that the British Museum draft (whether it was made in 1689 or later) represents one side of the new Great Seal which would have been brought into use if Mary had not died in 1694.

Possible methods of altering seal matrices.

I turn to the old question how alterations of seal matrices were effected, with special reference to the present case. On a matrix the lettering and design are represented by hollows: and if the modification consists merely of additions (such as the castles and fleur-de-lis added for Edward II and Edward III to blank spaces in seals of Edward I) there would be no difficulty. If actual alteration of parts of the design (e.g. of the legend) was required there were two practices known to us by examples in surviving matrices: either the depressions representing the part to be altered might be filled up with soft metal and the flat surface thus secured re-engraved; or the whole of the metal surface in which these depressions were formed might be cut away and the new engraving done on the flat surface at the bottom of this new depression. It should be possible to detect the alteration if the second method was used, because on the seal-impression the *Ric* (for instance) of a *Ricardus*

¹ According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* Clint was appointed, towards the end of his short life, Seal Engraver to Queen Victoria: but this would not appear to imply any connexion with the designing of the Great Seal. According to Wyon (p. 190) the 'Chief Engraver' at this time was Benjamin Wyon.

² This theory has the additional merit, for those who admire the work of the Roettiers, that it enables us to acquit them of the ridiculous additions to the seal of James II, which may be attributed to another hand. ³ See passages from *Treasury Books* already cited.

which was once *Edwardus* will be in higher relief than the rest of the letters.

But it has always seemed difficult to me to explain in either of these ways successive alterations to a single matrix such as we know in the case of the seal for the Court of Common Pleas;¹ and there are two more possibilities if we are prepared to admit that a large seal matrix might be made by casting in metal from a model in other material and only finishing with the tool.² If from the matrix of James II's seal, for example, a fine cast (not an impression³) were taken and if from this the parts to be altered were carefully erased, a further cast from this in metal would produce in effect a new matrix with certain parts blank and waiting for the engraver. The fourth possibility is not of universal application, but it does serve in the case of the matrices we are now discussing, which, it appears, were all made by members of the Roettier family. If the engravers had retained their models for the first seal (or casts of them) it would be easy for them to alter these and cast fresh matrices from them.⁴

Whether either of these processes was used in the present case it is impossible to say: but neither is incompatible with the close correspondence in measurement which we have established between the old and the new seal. One can only suggest that if the engravers did go to all that trouble to produce so bad a result, the desire to perpetuate James's image must have been singularly strong. For the reasons given above I personally incline to believe in actual alteration of the old matrix, and this view is supported by the fact that the addition of the queen's figure would present no difficulty because the space where this was to go was (save for a little of the horse's mane, which was worked into the Queen's left arm) already blank; and the comparatively high relief of her horse's head may suggest that it was engraved on a surface formed by previous erasure on the matrix. The *x* of *Rex*, mixed up with the horse's tail, may also be noticed.

Some other altered seals of James II.

There is one other piece of evidence which may be mentioned here

¹ See my article in *Archaeologia* already cited.

² Some support for the theory that moulding and casting were used comes from the wording of a mysterious Roettier account for the making of a Great Seal printed so long ago as 1840 in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (ii, 198) from a document in private possession. This refers to the 'making of the Molds and casting of the Great Seale at several times'. I call this document (which is not cited by Wyon) mysterious because the alleged date (1666/7) for the making of a new Great Seal and breaking of the old one does not fit with any of the other evidence at present available. But this again is a by-path which must not be explored at the moment.

³ I do not think it would often be possible to get a satisfactory casting from an impression made in the ordinary way: they are seldom perfect.

⁴ An interesting comment on these suppositions is furnished by the fact that A. B. Wyon himself produced (see his plates) three successive seals for Queen Victoria which are practically identical in design.

by way of postscript—the fact that other seals, as we have already observed, seem to have been actually altered. Some time after the 'new' Great Seal had been put in use, under date 1 May 1689, a warrant is recorded to the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint to alter the arms and circumscriptions, etc., of diverse old seals now or lately used which may be fitted to the king's royal style without the charge of engraving anew.¹ The 'Deputed' Great Seals were by this time numerous;² and most of them having a reverse which consisted of little more than a shield of arms, to which an in-escutcheon of the Nassau arms could easily be added, while in the case of some at least of the colonies the device on the obverse was probably an emblematic one³ which could be allowed to stand, there was a real case for economy. I have not examined seals of this kind in detail, but of those which at this date may be presumed⁴ to have shown an equestrian figure of the sovereign, one at any rate—the Great Seal for Scotland—copied the English Great Seal closely in a clumsy adaptation of one of the matrices of James II;⁵ on the other side, which formerly showed a seated figure of the sovereign, there had been since the reign of James I⁶ only a shield of arms. I must add at this point a confession that I have myself published⁷ a Colonial Seal of William and Mary (that of Barbados—the only one known to me for this reign) without commenting on the fact that the figure of the queen, supposed to be seated beside the king in a sea-chariot, has rather the appearance of an afterthought. In the light of what we have seen in the Great Seal we need not doubt that this also is an adaptation from a seal of James II. I may perhaps take this opportunity of saying that during that king's reign references in Treasury records⁸ show the existence of seals for Barbados,⁹ Bermudas,¹⁰ Jamaica,¹¹ the Leeward Islands,⁹ New England,¹⁰ New York,⁹ and Virginia;⁹ and as a Privy Council order of 6 March 1685 is for the making of *new* seals for the Plantations¹² we may infer the probable existence of such seals, though no impressions have yet been found so far as I know, in the reign of Charles II, if not earlier.¹³

¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, ix, p. 103: from *King's Warrant Book*, xiv, p. 54.

² Ireland (? four), Scotland, Wales (eight or nine), divers Palatinates, the Courts of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas, and a certain number of plantations or colonies. See my article in *Archaeologia* already cited. ³ I am judging by the seals of later reigns.

⁴ There is at present no case in which a complete set of examples for every reign has been recorded for any one series of 'deputed' seals; and many are known by only one or two examples over a period of centuries. Moreover, in some series there is known to have been a violent sudden change; the Exchequer, e.g., substituted the seated for the equestrian figure of the sovereign in the reign of Mary: see *Archaeologia*, *loc. cit.* Any general statement, therefore, in regard to their devices must be to some extent inferential.

⁵ I describe it from a cast in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries: I have not seen an original impression. ⁶ See *Archaeologia*, *loc. cit.* ⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. xcix.

⁸ My attention was first called to this by Professor Robert H. George, of Brown University, Rhode Island. ⁹ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, viii, p. 2016.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 953.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 775, 1199.

¹² P.C. 2/71, p. 27.

¹³ It is much to be desired that some one having access to collections on the spot should

Postscript: the Seal of William III.

With the above divagation I had intended to conclude this story of King James's Great Seal: but examination, *ex abundantiori cautela*, of one more of Wyon's plates showed the need for a further instalment.

The death of his consort in 1694 obliged William III to have a new Great Seal showing his own effigy, singly, on both sides.¹ Under date 10 January 1694/5 the *Privy Council Register* records the presentation and approval of the draft for a new Great Seal of England by 'James Roeteeres and Bartie Roeteers, his Majesty's Engravers in the Mint'; and payment of £200 to 'James Rotiers' for a new Great Seal was presently ordered, the seal having been delivered to the Lord Keeper on 4 May of that year.² Wyon has duly described it; and notes somewhat belatedly the similarity of the royal figure to those in the two preceding seals. But actually the equestrian side of the 'new' seal not only copies—it is once more, the old seal of James II: the engraver has merely filled up again the engraving of the queen's figure and her horse's head and legs, and re-engraved the legend a second time (pl. III). What is much more surprising—he has not even troubled to engrave a new obverse (the seated figure) but has resuscitated from somewhere the old obverse of James II and given it a new legend (pl. IV). Measurements, tested as before, correspond exactly.³

How it happened that other people concerned (the officials of the Treasury for instance) were as much prepared as the engraver to call this a new seal and to value the labour of engraving it at £200,⁴ and (once more) what was the precise method in which production of the 'new' seal was carried out, must again be left to the reader's speculation. I am afraid we cannot say with absolute certainty that the actual matrices engraved by John Roettier in 1685 were still in existence in 1702. But amidst all the uncertainties due to the vagaries of kings, officials, memoir-writers, engravers, and historians there stands out one undoubted and entertaining fact—that the royal effigies of the exiled James continued to the end to authenticate the acts of the usurping William.

investigate the possible survival of (e.g.) grants of land showing examples of American and other Colonial Seals of all periods.

¹ I have not at present found orders for any save the Great Seal proper. That for Barbados, at any rate, was still in use, with the two figures (see *Archaeologia*, lxxxv) in the reign of Queen Anne. But I have not prolonged inquiries into this part of the subject.

² *Calendar of Treasury Books*, x, pp. 1167, 1193, 1203. Documents of earlier date in that year (for instance one in the possession of the City of London which our Fellow Dr. Thomas was good enough to produce for me) carry the two-figure seal.

³ The impression of James's Seal is (in a fresh reproduction) that already cited, in the possession of the Carpenters' Company: that of William's is from a document at the Public Record Office connected with the First Partition Treaty—*State Papers Foreign Treaties* (S.P. 108), 332: which deserves a longer note than I have here space for.

⁴ Apparently this, or approximately this, sum was the usual amount charged: it is the exact charge for engraving (apart from extras) in the 'mysterious' account (1666/7) already cited from the *Numismatic Chronicle* and within a few pounds of the Roettiers' bill in 1686 and 1689.

Recent Discoveries at All Hallows, Barking

By T. D. KENDRICK, F.B.A., Secretary, and C. A. RALEGH
RADFORD, F.S.A.

I

As a result of the destruction by the enemy of All Hallows, Barking, a portion of a Saxon church on the site was uncovered, and also some fragments of what must have been an imposing Saxon cross. A grant from the Society's William and Jane Morris Fund has enabled a protecting screen to be built in front of the main architectural feature exposed, a blocked archway, and, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, the principal fragments of the cross have been placed in a Museum repository. The Society has reason to be grateful to the vicar, the Rev. P. T. B. Clayton, for reporting the discoveries as soon as they came to his notice, and for the friendly and helpful way in which he and the staff of All Hallows collaborated with the Ministry of Works, the British Museum, and the Society in the task of quickly recording the finds and safeguarding them.

There are four sculptured fragments of the cross, and five other pieces with insignificant signs of carving that possibly come from the same monument. They had all been embedded in walls of the Gothic church. A drawing of the four principal fragments showing their relation one to the other has been prepared by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments (fig. 1). Fragment A is 16 in. in height, fragment C 11 in., and fragment D, which still bears traces of red colouring, 12 in. The fourth fragment, B, is merely a broken corner of fragment A. Taken together we have a length of over 3 ft. of the shaft of a late panelled cross in the English tradition, obviously important as representing the work of a hitherto unknown London school of Saxon sculpture that possibly, but not certainly, is connected with the school represented by the ninth- or tenth-century fragment of a cross-shaft with interlace ornament that is preserved at Barking Abbey, Essex, the parent foundation of All Hallows, Barking. The newly discovered cross is clearly late work, probably about 1030-50. The 'Twin Beasts', originally a ninth-century Anglian design, come at the very end of the series (cf. Desborough, mid tenth-century, for an intermediate version); the flat figural style with the ridged drapery corresponds to the Sheldford manner (eleventh-century), and the origin of the crumpled skirt of the figure on the inscribed face is in late Winchester drawing; and the scroll is in the eleventh-century 'dishevelled' style seen in manuscripts and other sculptures (e.g. at Sompting), and it shows, the only element on the cross to do so, some influence of the Viking (Ringerike) taste. The pellet in the interlace would also count as a late feature, if it were really part of the pattern; but it is possible that the panel is unfinished and that it was intended to be chipped away. T. D. K.

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II

This early-eleventh-century cross is not a great work of art, but the iconography has several points of interest. The main figure on the front of the shaft stands in the great traditional line of Saxon sculpture.

Comparison with the corresponding panels at Ruthwell and Bewcastle¹ proves that the scene is intended to represent Christ trampling

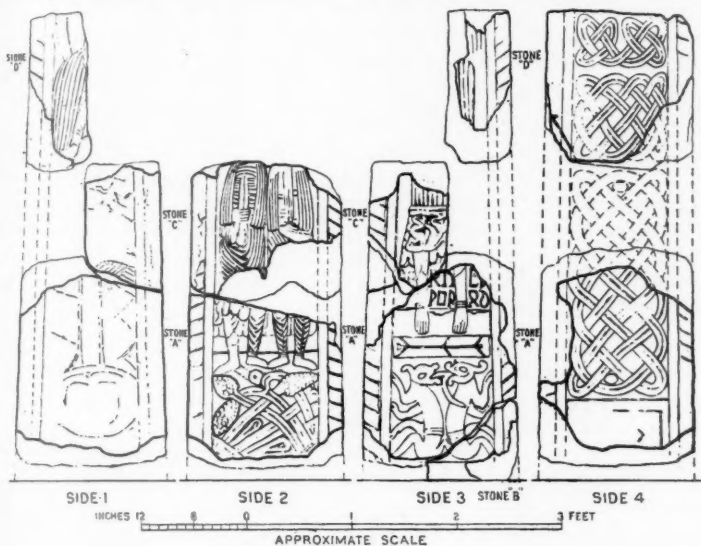


FIG. 1

By permission of H.M. Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments.

on the beasts, though these show as little more than vague lines on the circle beneath the feet of the figure. Of the figure itself only the stiff folds of stylized drapery remain. The symbolism is clear; Christ, the 'righteous Judge' as He is termed in the Ruthwell inscription, represents the Church triumphant, the fitting central figure for the 'victory beacon'. The next scene on the right side contains two figures executed in the calligraphic style of the latest school of Saxon sculpture. This took its models from the exquisite drawings which adorn the manuscripts of the Winchester School. Their translation into the coarser medium of stone was seldom successful. The result, as in the present case, was usually to produce ill-designed figures, the details being emphasized by a clumsy working of the surface, which attempted to imitate the delicate line-drawing of the original. This derivation gives a clue to the interpretation. The two figures are dressed in tunics, with long cloaks, and their legs are cased in high boots or hose. The costume is essentially secular and military. Yet the figure on the left holds two large keys, while that on the right carries, though less distinctly, an

¹ Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, v, pl. xvii.

erect and drawn sword. The former is clearly intended for St. Peter, while the latter probably represents St. Paul. An apostle in secular, military attire is contrary to the normal canon of Saxon iconography, but the following explanation may be suggested. The carver has endeavoured to convey the idea of All Saints by giving a picture of the Court of Heaven, and he took as his model a manuscript picture of an earthly court. Several illustrations of the Imperial Court showing the Emperor surrounded by his bishops and dukes exist. These go back to the well-known Carolingian drawing in the Bible of Charles the Bald¹ (circa 850).

A more nearly contemporary example may be cited from the Gospels in the Treasury at Aachen,² where the central figure is either Otto II (973-83) or Otto III (983-1002). Though contrary to the iconographic tradition, the idea of representing the apostles as warriors is consonant with Saxon literature, for the Andreas poem³ thus describes them: 'twelve glorious heroes, Thegns of the Lord. . . . They were men renowned on earth, eager leaders and active in Fyrd, bold warriors. . . .'

There are no figures on that part of the left side of the shaft which has survived, but another scene occupies the greater part of the back. The single figure is dressed in a tunic falling below the knees. The bare legs appear to be bound at the ankles, though it is possible that anklets are really intended. At the base is an inscription recording without any explanation the name WERHENWORRTH. The inscription is in Anglo-Saxon capitals. Two letters (the ð and the h) are properly minuscule forms, though they are used as capitals in contemporary manuscripts such as the Exeter book, written in the last quarter of the tenth century. The name tells us nothing. It may represent the donor; it may indicate a local martyr whose inclusion among the communion of saints it was desired to commemorate. The latter explanation seems more probable. The cross must date from the years of reconstruction following the Danish raids and massacres of the early eleventh century. Archbishop Ælfheah, pelted to death in the course of a drunken orgy,⁴ is the representative of many other contemporary martyrs, and the commemoration of those belonging to Barking may well have occasioned both the erection of the cross and the dedication of the church in the honour of All Saints, including both the known and those whose name is known only to God.

The fragments of the cross described above do not represent the only discovery which became known as a result of the destruction of All Hallows. When the plaster had fallen from the west end of the south wall of the nave, this was seen to include an early and hitherto unsuspected feature. Beneath the seventeenth-century circular window

¹ Omont, *Peintures de la Première Bible de Charles le Chauve*, pl. viii.

² Goldschmidt, *German Illumination, Ottonian Period*, pl. 1.

³ Andreas, ll. 1-5.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1012; vol. i, 268, Rolls Series.



C



A



A



D

Fragments of Saxon cross, All Hallows, Barking



C



D



A



A

Fragments of Saxon cross, All Hallows, Barking



Blocked Saxon archway, All Hallows, Barking

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marked in the plan published by the Royal Commission¹ was a blocked archway some 8 ft. high and 4 ft. 6 in. wide. The rough rubble blocking is of uncertain, but probably medieval, date. The arch is formed of large tiles set not radially but on edge and sloping slightly outwards. The original masonry of the piers is of small stones roughly coursed. Both arch and masonry are typical early Saxon work. The tiles, and

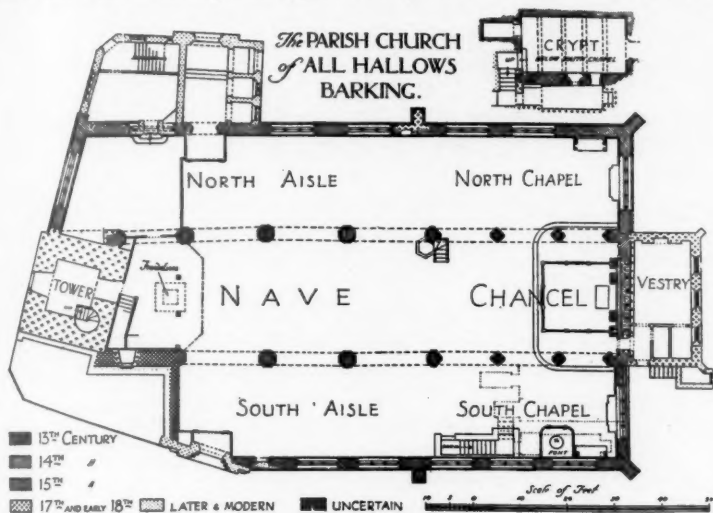


FIG. 2

By permission of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

more particularly their setting in the arch, can be closely paralleled in the church at Brixworth, Northamptonshire,² erected by the monks of Peterborough about 670. The stretch of wall is about 12 ft. long. To the north, beyond the wall of the tower, a quoin formed of similar tiles has been noted in the upper part of the north wall of the nave.³ These two fragments of Saxon walling indicate an original nave 24 ft. wide internally. Its length was probably the same as that of the medieval nave, the east end with the chancel arch being represented by the foundation noted at this point.⁴ This would give a nave 60 ft. by 24 ft., or rather smaller than Brixworth. The arch in the south wall is large for an external doorway and more probably represents an opening leading into a porticus, indicating a church of considerable size and probably planned on the same scale as Brixworth with a nave, lateral porticus, and a choir.

¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London*, vol. iv, 176.

² Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, p. 34; fig. 11 and pl. vi.

³ R.C.H.M., *ut supra*. The plan shows this quoin at the end of the north wall of the nave marked with 17th-century hatching.

⁴ *Survey of London*, vol. xii; *All Hallows Barking*, vol. i, p. 54.

These fragments of masonry are the most important remains of Saxon building yet found in the City of London, and their discovery confirms the early origin of the church which had been put forward on other grounds. All Hallows was known as Barking church at least as early as the reign of Stephen, when it was given by the worthy man Riculf and his wife Brichtwen to the church of Rochester.¹ This appellation must be connected with the Domesday record of the lands of Barking Abbey. These included the manor of Barking, to which were appurtenant 'in London 38 houses which render 13s. and 8d. and a moiety of a church which in King Edward's time used to render 6s. 8d. and now does not'.² The record taken together with later documents suggests a soke like those held in the City of London by many ecclesiastical and lay tenants,³ and we may not unreasonably conjecture that the original grant was similar to that made in 804 to the abbey of Lyminge, which received 6 acres *in civitate Doroverniae ad necessitatem refugium*.⁴ That the abbey should erect a church on property so bestowed is what we might expect. The possibility of a monastic origin for the church of All Hallows gives fresh significance to the chronology suggested by the parallel with Brixworth. Barking Abbey was founded by Earconwald, bishop of London, as a house of nuns and was ruled over by his sister Ethelburga.⁵ The exact date is unknown. An early charter of Oedilred may be ascribed to 692 or 693.⁶ Earconwald became bishop *circa* 675, and the foundation must be between these two dates.

The early gifts recorded in the charters do not include any property which could represent the later holdings in London.⁷ But the erection of an important church, which later bore the name of the abbey and was dependent on the abbey, at a date approximately contemporary with the foundation is unlikely to be a coincidence. A further connexion with St. Mary's Abbey, Barking, is the dedication to the Blessed Virgin, which was probably older than that to All Hallows.⁸ The community at Barking was massacred in the Danish wars of the ninth century, and the site apparently remained waste for a century. A refoundation was made during the reign of King Edgar under Abbess Wlfhilde, who many years later died in London, where the community had been forced to retire by the threat of another Danish attack. It was probably in this period that Barking temporarily lost its rights over the church, and the second dedication to All Hallows, a favourite choice in London, may well be one of the results of that alienation.

C. A. R. R.

¹ *Registrum Roffense*, p. 117 (ed. Thorpe).

² Victoria County History, *Essex*, i, 448. The abbess drew a pension of 6s. 8d. from All Hallows in 1291 (*Taxatio Papae Nicholae* iv, 19) suggesting that this is the church indicated in Domesday Book, and that the abbey's rights had then been recovered.

³ Stenton, *Norman London*, p. 14.

⁵ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 6.

⁷ See Victoria County History, *Essex*, ii, 115, for the history of Barking.

⁸ *Survey of London*, *ut supra*, p. 3.

⁴ Birch, *Cartularium*, i, 444.

⁶ Birch, *Cartularium*, i, 115.

A List of Brochs and Broch Sites

By A. GRAHAM, F.S.A.

THE following list contains five hundred and three items, as follows:

(i) Three hundred and five structures which have been positively identified as brochs and are still in existence. For those printed in italics no dimensions or structural features are on record. (ii) Sixty-six sites of vanished structures which are known to have been brochs. These are listed as 'broch sites'. In a few cases descriptions are on record. (iii) One hundred and thirty-two structures which probably are or possibly may be brochs, but which have not been positively identified as such. These are listed as 'uncertain examples'.

The material is arranged under six regional headings, namely Shetland, Orkney, Northern Mainland,¹ West Coast² and Inner Islands, Outer Islands, and Central and Eastern Mainland. The county, island, or district in which each broch stands is noted, and a reference is given to the principal source from which information regarding it has been obtained. In the case of brochs surveyed by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, this reference takes the form of the structure's serial number in the appropriate county Inventory.

I. SHETLAND

All numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventory of Orkney and Shetland.

BROCHS

Aithsetter, 1141
Balta, 1596
Brough Holm, 1548
Burga Water, 1606
Burgar Stack, 1544
Burland, 1247
Burra Ness, 1716
Burralland, 1143
Burralland, 1607
Burravoe, 1114
Clevigarth, 1147
Clickhimin, 1246
Clumlie, 1145
Culswick, 1397
Dalsetter, 1146
East Burra Firth, 1395
Eastshore, 1148
Feal, 1211
Footabrough, 1608
Fugla Ness, 1115
Gossabrough, 1718

Greenbank, 1715
Hamnavoe, 1353
Hawk's Ness, 1500
Head of Brough, 1721
Hoga Ness, 1545
Holm of Copister, 1720
Houbie, 1212
Houlland, 1396
Housabister, 1282
Infield, 1116
Islesburgh, 1354
Jarlshof, 1149
Levenwick, 1144
Loch of Houlland, 1352
Loch of Huxter, 1605
Loch of Kettlester, 1719
Loch of Watsness, 1609
Mousa, 1206
Noss Sound, 1085
Nounsburgh, 1394
Sna Broch, 1210
Sna Broch, 1546

¹ North of a line joining Tain and Gruinard.

² From Gruinard to Kirkcudbright.

BROCHS (*cont.*)

Southvoe, 1142
 Stool, 1717
 Underhoull, 1547
Wadbister Ness, 1499
 West Burra Firth, 1393
West Houlland, 1398
West Sandwick, 1722
 Windhouse, 1723

BROCH SITES

Aith, 1106
 Baliasa, 1579
 Barra Holm, 1529
 Brei Wick, 1744
 Brough, 1107
 Brough, 1277
 Brough, 1343
 Brough Lodge, 1238
 Brough Taing, 1580
 Burgan, 1386
 Burland, 1535
 Burra Voe, 1384
 Burrastow, 1673
 Burravoe, 1745
 Burrian, 1308
 Burwick, 1528
 Heogan, 1105
 Houllands, 1468

Knowe of Houlland, 1188
 Loch of Burralland, 1387
 Loch of Stavaness, 1307
 Mail, 1187
 Musselburgh, 1582
 Orbister, 1385
 Sand Wick, 1581
 Scousburgh, 1190
 Stoura Brough, 1674
 Sumburgh Head, 1189
 Symbister, 1342
 Vidlin, 1306

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Bousta, 1610
 Brindister, 1399
 Burga Water, 1284
 Cullingsburgh, 1086
 Fethaland, 1355
 Gord, 1150
 Heglibister, 1501
 Loch of Benston, 1283
 Loch of Brindister, 1248
 Loch of Brow, 1153
 Lunabister, 1152
 Pinhoulland, 1611
 Skelberry, 1151
 Wester Skeld, 1400

II. ORKNEY

All numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventory of Orkney and Shetland.

BROCHS

Berstane, 405
 Borwick, 679
Braebuster, 624
 Breckness, 920
 Burgar, 261
 Burness, 321
 Burray (East), 862
 Burray (West), 861
 Burrian, Corrigal, 12
 Burrian, N. Ronaldsay, 193
 Burrian, Russland, 14
 Burroughston, 778
 Burwick, 817
 Castle of Bothican, 522
 Dingieshowe, 625
Green Hill, 379

Gurness, 263
 Helliard Holm, 806
Hillock of Breckna, 486
 Howe of Hoxa, 815
Hunda, 863
 Ingshowe, 322
Knowe of Burrian, 551
 Knowe of Burristae, 1034
 Knowe of Dishero, 265
 Knowe of Stenso, 262
 Lamb Head, 947
 Lingro, 406
 Loch of Ayre, 360
Loch of Clumby, 678
 Mid Howe, 553
Ness of Ork, 777
 Ness of Woodwick, 264

Netlater
 Oxtro, 1
 Point of
 Skogar,
 Steiro, 7
 Taft, 15
 Verron,
 Westside
 Wasso, 4

Arion, 9
 Brough,
 Burrows
 Colli N
 Dennis
 Harra, 8
 Harray
 Hoor N
 Hunton
 Knoll o
 Loch of
 Overbro
 Redland
 struct
 Scar, 18
 Scockne
 Smiddy
 Stackruc
 struct
 Stromne
 Tofts, 4
 Westbro

Backask
 Braebist
 Burrian

Numb

Achanar
Achanea
 Achanea
 Acharol
 Achavan

BROCHS (*cont.*)

Netlater, 13
 Oxtro, 11
 Point of Buryan, 437
 Skogar, 16
 Steiro, 779
 Taft, 15
 Verron, 260
 Westside, 552
 Wasso, 438

BROCH SITES

Arion, 939
 Brough, 851
 Burrowstone, 1023
 Colli Ness, 473
 Dennis Ness, 205
 Harra, 852
 Harray Church, 138
 Hoor Ness, 1071
 Hunton, 980
 Knoll of Skulzie, 1072
 Loch of Westhill, 801
 Overbrough, 139
 Redland, 320. A description of the structure of this broch is on record.
 Scar, 182
 Scockness, 606
 Smiddybanks, 850
 Stackrue, 677. A description of the structure of this broch is on record.
 Stromness, 940
 Tofts, 430
 Westbrough, 183

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Backaskaill, 159
 Braebister, 380
 Burrian, Garth, 21

Burrian, L. of Harray, 680
 Cantick, 1006
 Cummi Howe, 872
 Deerness Church, 629
 Finstown, 323
 Green Hill of Hesti Geo, 1008
 Green Hill, Stronsay, 948
 Green Hill, Walls, 1007
 Hall of Rendall, 270
 Hillock of Baywest, 949
 Hodgalee, 1035
 How Farm, 158
 Howe of Langskaill, 627
 Howan, 20
 Kirk of Cleaton, 23
 Knowe of Gullow, 22
 Knowe of Hunclett, 555
 Knowe of Ryo, 267
 Loch of Isbister, 17
 Loch of Hundland, 18
 Mithouse, 19
 Nebister, 160
 Ness of Boray, 313
 Newark, 439
 North Howe, 557
 Riggan of Kami, 628
 St. Mary's Kirk, 24
 St. Tredwell's Chapel, 523
 Scarrataing, 681
 Scockness, 554
 Tankerness, 626
 The Howe, 921
 The Skeo, 1009
 Tingwall, 268
 Verron, 682
 Viera Lodge, 556
 Vinquin, 266
 Wass Wick, 269
 Weems Castle, 816

III. NORTHERN MAINLAND

Numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventories of Caithness (abbr. C.) and of Sutherland (abbr. S.).

BROCHS

Achanarras, C. 99
Achaneas, S. 50
Achaneas, S. 51
Acharole, C. 466
Achavar, C. 199

Achbuligan Tulloch, C. 350
Achcoillenaborgie, S. 183
Achies, C. 98
Achingale, C. 473
Achlochan Moss, C. 102
Achorn, C. 214

BROCHS (cont.)

Achow, C. 208
Achunabust, C. 351
Achvarasdal Lodge, C. 353
Achvarn, C. 112
Allt a' Choire Mhoir, S. 312
Allt an Duin, S. 182
Allt an Duin, S. 313
Allt Breac, S. 395
A' Mheirle, S. 478
Appnag Tulloch, C. 218
Armadaile Burn, S. 190
Backies, S. 272
Balantrath, C. 213
Ballachly, C. 192
Bell Mount, C. 431
Berriedale, C. 203
Berriedale, C. 205
Borrowston, C. 510
Brabstermire, C. 37
Brae, S. 107
Brinside Tulloch, C. 434
Brounaban, C. 511
Bruan, C. 193
Burg Langwell, C. 201
Burg Ruadh, C. 207
Burn of Latheronwheel, C. 212.
Camas an Duin, S. 157
Camster, C. 189
Camster, C. 522
Carn Bran, S. 468
Carn Liath, S. 187
Carn Liath, S. 270
Carn Mor, S. 53
Carn na Mairg, C. 105
Carrol, S. 27
Castle Cole, S. 25
Castlehill, C. 320
Clachtoll, S. 7
Cnoc Donn, C. 103
Coghill, C. 469
Coich Burn, S. 23
Coill' Ach a' Chuil, S. 176
Crosskirk, C. 347
Dail Langwell, S. 49
Dalchork, S. 394
Dale, C. 104
Doir a' Chatha, S. 52
Duchary, S. 28
Dun Carnachaidh, S. 180

Dun Chealamy, S. 179
Dun Creagach, S. 175
Dun Dornaigil, S. 155
Dun Lagaidh, E. Ross; Ordnance Survey
Dun na Maigh, S. 527
Dun Riaskidh, S. 529
Dun Viden, S. 181
Dunbeath, C. 215
Dunrobin Wood, S. 271
East Kinnauld, S. 477
Eldrable, S. 309
Elsay, C. 521
Everley, C. 36
Feranach, S. 314
Forsinain, S. 186
Framside, C. 111
Freswick Links, C. 34
Gansclet, C. 501
Gills, C. 53
Golsary, C. 220
Green Tullochs, C. 348
Greenyards, E. Ross; Ordnance Survey
Greysteil Castle, C. 222
Grum More, S. 174
Gunn's Hillock, C. 2
Gunn's Hillock, C. 194
Gylable Burn, S. 311
Ha' of Duran, C. 436
Hempriggs, C. 504
Hill of Works, C. 3
Hillhead, C. 520
Hoy, C. 435
Inshlampie, S. 178
Keiss, C. 515
Killin, S. 26
Killouran, S. 310
Kilmster, C. 507
Kilphedir, S. 307
Kintradwell, S. 467
Knock Urray, C. 349
Knockglass, C. 117
Knockglass, C. 475
Knockinnon, C. 216
Kyle of Tongue, S. 530
Kylesku, S. 168
Langdale Burn, S. 177
Latheronwheel, C. 211
Leckmelms, W. Ross; Ordnance Survey
Leosag, C. 109

Loch Ar...
Loch Mo...
Loch Shi...
Lynegar,
Mid Clyt...
Minera,
Murkle,
Murza,
Mybster,
Ness, C.
North Ca...
Norwall,
Nybster,
Occumste...
Old Stir...
Ousedale,
Road Br...
Roster,
Rumster,
Sallachac...
Sandy D...
Scotscald...
Scottag,
Scrabster,
Shiness,
Sibmiste...
Skelbo W...
Skinnet,
Skirza F...
Smerral...
Spital,
Spital,
Spital,
Suisgill,
Tannach,
Thing's,
Thrum,
Thrum,
Thurdis,
Tiantul...
Toftgun,
Trantle,
Tulach,
Tulach,
Tulach,
Tulloch,
Tulloch,
Upper

BROCHS (*cont.*)

Loch Ardbhair, S. 4
 Loch Mor, S. 189
 Loch Shin, S. 391
 Lynegar, C. 471
 Mid Clyth, C. 195
 Minera, C. 197
 Murkle, C. 319
 Murza, C. 63
 Mybster, C. 96
 Ness, C. 33
 North Calder, C. 110
 Norwall, C. 508
 Nybster, C. 518
 Occumster, C. 198
 Old Stirkoke, C. 499
 Ousedale Burn, C. 204
 Road Broch, Keiss, C. 517
 Roster, C. 191
 Rumster, C. 219
 Sallachadh, S. 392
 Sandy Dun, S. 184
 Scotscaider, C. 113
 Scottag, C. 470
 Scrabster, C. 429
 Shiiness, S. 393
 Sibmister, C. 321
 Skelbo Wood, S. 106
 Skinner, C. 116
 Skirza Head, C. 35
 Smerral, C. 209
 Spital, C. 100
 Spital, C. 101
 Spital, C. 474
 Suisgill, S. 308
 Tannach, C. 500
 Thing's Va, C. 432
 Thrumster, C. 502
 Thrumster Little, C. 503
 Thurdistoft, C. 318
 Tiantulloch, C. 196
 Toftgun, C. 525
 Trantlemore, S. 188
 Tulach Bad a' Choilich, C. 202
 Tulach Beag, C. 107
 Tulach Mor, C. 108
 Tulloch of Lybster, C. 346
 Tulloch of Shalmstry, C. 437
 Tulloch of Stemster, C. 344
 Upper Borgue, C. 206

Upper Latheron, C. 217
 Upper Sour, C. 114
 Usshilly Tulloch, C. 221
 Warehouse, C. 190
 Watanan, C. 524
 Watten, C. 468
 Wester Broch, C. 513
 Wester Watten, C. 464
 Westerdale, C. 106
 White Gate, Keiss, C. 516
 Yarrows, C. 509

BROCH SITES

Achies, C. 180
 Auckingill, C. 52
 Carn a' Chait, E. Ross; Ordnance
 Survey
 Clerkhill, S. 265
 Cnoc Chaisteal, S. 386
 Dun Alascaig, E. Ross; *Arch. Scot.* v,
 p. 192
 Dun Buidhe, S. 544
 Dun Phail, S. 387
 Ha' of Bowermadden, C. 22
 Hoy Station, C. 179
 Kettleburn, C. 588
 Kilbrare, S. 24
 Midgarty, S. 476
 Rattar Burn, C. 84
 Stemster, C. 54
 Wilkhouse, S. 476

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Achies, C. 97
 Banks of Watten, C. 465
 Bilbster, C. 514
 Borgie Bridge, S. 185
 Bowertower, C. 19
 Cairn of Dunn, C. 462
 Cairn of Humster, C. 506
 Camster, C. 18
 Carn a' Chladda, C. 467
 Creag Leathan, C. 352
 East Kinnauld, S. 479
 Gearsay, C. 472
 Geise, C. 430
 Ha' of Greenland, C. 64
 Halcro, C. 1
 Hill of Stemster, C. 505
 Hollandmay, C. 39

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES (*cont.*)

Housel Cairn, C. 115
 Knockglass, C. 171
 Learable, S. 315
 Loch Watenan, C. 526
 Old Hall of Dunn, C. 461
 Old Hall of Dunn, C. 463
 Olig Glebe, C. 322
 Olig House, C. 323
 Oust, C. 455
 Rattar, C. 83
 Scarfsferry, C. 62

Scoolary, C. 38
 Scrabster, C. 433
 Smerral, C. 210
 Stemster, C. 345
 Thuster, C. 519
 Torrisdail, S. 528
 Tulloch Turnal, C. 200
 Ulbster, C. 523

The information at present available does not warrant the inclusion of Croick or Lechanich, in E. Ross (*Arch. Scot.* v, p. 193).

IV. WEST COAST AND INNER ISLANDS

Numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventories.

BROCHS

Abhuinn Bhaile Mheadhonaich, Skye, 481
 Caisteal Grugaig, W. Ross; information from Mr. G. P. H. Watson
 Dun an Ruigh Ruadh, W. Ross; information from Mrs. Young
 Dun Ard ant-Sabhail, Skye, 478
 Dun Arkaig, Skye, 480
 Dun Beag, Skye, 479
 Dun Bhoreraic, Islay; information from Professor Childe
 Dun Boraig, Skye, 505
 Dun Borodale (Voradel), Raasay, 575
 Dun Borrafiach, Skye, 510
 Dun Colbost, Skye, 506
 Dun Edinbain, Skye, 512
 Dun Flashader, Skye, 513
 Dun Gearymore, Skye, 511
 Dun Greanan, Skye, 539
 Dun Hallin, Skye, 509
 Dun Iardhard (Fiadhairt), Skye, 508
 Dun nan Gall, Mull; information from Professor Childe
 Dun Osdale, Skye, 507
 Dun Raisaburgh, Skye, 540
 Dun Sleadale, Skye, 477
 Dun Suledale, Skye, 618
 Dun Telve, Glenelg; *P.S.A.S.* 1, pp. 241 ff.
 Dun Troddan, Glenelg; *P.S.A.S.* 1v, pp. 83 ff.
 Glen Heysdal, Skye, 514
 Kingsburgh, Skye, 619

Sean Dun, Mull; information from Professor Childe
 Teroy, Wigtown, 28
 Tirefuair, Lismore; *P.S.A.S.* xxiii, pp. 375 f. and 427 f.

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Ardwell, Wigtown, 433
 Dun Boraige Moire, Tiree; Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree*, pp. 78 ff.
 Dun Bornaskitaig, Skye, 564
 Dun Borge, Skye, 515
 Dun Borge, Skye, 620
 Dun Choinnich, Skye, 605
 Dun Feorlig, Skye, 516
 Dun Garsin, Skye, 482
 Dun Heanish, Tiree; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.
 Dun Hiader, Tiree; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 ff.
 Dun Ibrig, Tiree; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.
 Dun Liath, Skye, 655
 Dun Mhadaidh, Mull; information from Professor Childe
 Dun Mor a' Chaolais, Tiree; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 75
 Dun Mor Vaul, Tiree; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.
 Dun Urgadel, Mull; information from Professor Childe
 Sean Chaisteal, Mull; information from Professor Childe
 Stairhaven, Wigtown, 310

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES (*cont.*)

The information at present available does not warrant the inclusion of the following sites: Barchastallain, Castle Chalamine, Castles, Duchoille, Dunan Diarmaid, Kirkmichael Glebe,

Lagandruim, and Tomaclare. (*Arch. Scot.* v, pp. 193 f.) Gordon's 'Castle Chonil' (*Itin. Septent.*, p. 166) is evidently the same as Dun Grugaig, Glenelg; cf. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*, p. 183.

V. OUTER ISLANDS

Numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, Skye, and the Small Isles.

BROCHS

Dun a' Chaolais, Vatersay, 442
Dun an Sticir, N. Uist, 171
Dun Borge, Lewis, 11
Dun Carloway, Lewis, 68
Dun Cromore, Lewis, 38; cf. also
Arch. Scot. v, p. 380
Dun Cuier, Barra, 441
Dun Torcuill, N. Uist, 172
Loch an Duna, Lewis, 10

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Dun Airnistean,¹ Lewis, 33; cf. also
Arch. Scot. v, p. 373
Dun Aligaray, S. Uist, 427
Dun Ban, Barra, 446
Dun Baravat, Gt. Bernera, 71
Dun Borranish, Lewis, 74; cf. also
Arch. Scot. v, p. 393
Dun Borge, Berneray;¹ *Arch. Scot.* v,
p. 399

Dun Borge, Harris, 125; cf. also *Arch. Scot.* v, p. 396
Dun Buidhe, S. Uist, 373
Dun Chlif, Barra, 448
Dun Loch an Duin, Barra, 445
Dun na Buaile Uachdraich, S. Uist, 374
Dun Sandray, Sandray, 444
Dun Sleibhe,¹ Lewis, 30; cf. also *Arch. Scot.* v, p. 392
Dun Smirvig,¹ Lewis; *Arch. Scot.* v, p. 372
Dun Stuigh, Gt. Bernera, 70
Dun Traigh na Berie, Lewis, 69
Dun Vulcan, S. Uist, 375
Dunan Ruadh, Fuday, 443
Dunan Ruadh, Pabbay, 447
Loch Baravat, Lewis, 36; cf. also *Arch. Scot.* v, p. 373

VI. CENTRAL AND EASTERN MAINLAND

Numbers refer to the Royal Commission's Inventories.

BROCHS

Bow Castle, Midlothian, 233
Coldoch, Perthshire; *P.S.A.S.* ix, p. 38
Edinshall, Berwickshire, 115
Struy, Invernesshire; *Arch. Scot.* v, p. 194, and information from Professor Childe
Tor Wood, Stirlingshire; *P.S.A.S.* ix, p. 29

Torwoodlee, Selkirkshire; *P.S.A.S.* xxvi, pp. 71 f. and lxvi, p. 341

UNCERTAIN EXAMPLES

Hurley Hawkin, Angus; *P.S.A.S.* vi, p. 210
The Laws, Angus; *P.S.A.S.* iii, p. 440

¹ No structure remains; description from record only.

The Harrington Effigy in Cartmel Priory

By J. B. WARD PERKINS, F.S.A.

ATTENTION was drawn recently (*Antiq. Journ.* xxi, 1941, 158-61) to a sword of derivative Viking type depicted on an effigy in Furness Abbey, Lancs. The effigy is one of a group of related late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century monuments, of which the majority are recorded from Co. Durham. Another sword of this form has since come to notice in a similar context. The freestone effigy on which it appears is preserved in the Priory Church of Cartmel, which lies some ten miles to the east of Furness Abbey.

At the Dissolution the body of the church was temporarily abandoned, and it was only re-roofed and restored to use some eighty years later, in 1618. It was doubtless during this period, and probably before 1597, when the surviving parish-records begin, that the tomb of which this effigy forms a part was moved to its present position, in an arched niche between the choir and the south choir-aisle. It was originally planned on a more generous scale, and the adaptation of the elaborate canopy to its present situation is clumsy and perfunctory. (The best account of the tomb, with two illustrations, is given by H. F. Rigge in *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* v, 1880-1, 109-20.) The date of the tomb is disputed. The canopy and ornament appear to belong to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Crossley (*English Church Monuments*, 1156-1550, p. 67) dates it c. 1340. The armour of the male effigy, on the other hand, is that of the opening years of the century. A composite origin is not impossible, although the material, a light-yellow sandstone worked in the local quarries, and the workmanship have every appearance of uniformity. Moreover, effigy and canopy alike display the *fretty* coat of the Harringtons. The canopy formerly bore also the three *escallops* of Dacre (*Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* xxv, 1925, 373, illustrating a sketch of the tomb made by Daniel King in 1646), and the conjunction has not unreasonably been ascribed to John, first Lord Harrington, who died in 1347. The parentage of his wife, Joan, is not known; but as he was the ward of Sir William de Dacre, it is by no means improbable that it was his guardian's daughter whom he had married.

The armour represented on the effigy is, however, at least twenty years earlier in date. The figure is wearing a low ridged bascinet with camail attached, full mail and surcoat, knee-cops, and prick-spurs, of which the only terminal visible is slotted. There are no elbow-cops. The surcoat is fastened by a narrow belt with buckle and tag, and a shield hangs on a baldric slung from the right shoulder. There is no dagger. The mail gauntlets hang loosely from the wrist, as on the brass of Sir Robert de Setvans, d. 1306, at Chartham, Kent.

It is not always easy to date individual items of early fourteenth-century equipment. In contrast to the marked uniformity of later fourteenth-century practice, it was a period of change and experiment. The transition of mail to plate was by no means a simple process. There are, however, three features of the Harrington effigy which, taken in conjunction, enable us to date it with some precision—the helmet, the amount of plate armour on the body, and the form of the sword-belt and scabbard. Each requires brief separate attention before we can give a date to the effigy and hence to the sword which it carries.

During the thirteenth century fashions in military head-gear were still fluid, and a variety of forms were in simultaneous use (see G. Laking, *European Armour and Arms*, i, 108–18, and figs. 140–4). The normal and simple form, however, was the coif of mail which might, or might not, be worn over a metal skull-cap. Early in the fourteenth century this gave place to the bascinet, a dome-shaped cap, to which was attached the camail protecting the lower part of the face and the neck. This is probably of foreign origin (Laking, *op. cit.*, p. 225), although typologically it could well be regarded as the logical successor of the metal skull-cap worn under the coif of mail, and in fact its development may have been affected by this consideration. It seems possible that certain early bascinets, e.g. that shown on the effigy of Sir Robert du Bois, d. 1311, at Fersfield, Norfolk, were actually worn over the full coif. The bascinet does not seem to be found in this country on effigies or brasses before c. 1310, and the mail coif was not entirely superseded for a number of years. Late examples can be seen on the effigies of Aymer de Valence, d. 1323, in Westminster Abbey, and of Sir William de Staunton, d. 1326, at Staunton, Notts., or on the brass of a member of the Bacon family, in Gorleston church, Suffolk, which on the evidence of the body-armour cannot be earlier than c. 1320.

The bascinet was not at first stereotyped in shape. Sir Robert du Bois, d. 1311, has a tall, domed form. An elaborate, fluted variety is represented on the brasses of Sir John d'Abernon, d. 1327, at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, and of Sir John de Creke, c. 1325, at Westley Waterless, Cambs. Another early form is best seen on the effigy of Sir Robert Shurland, c. 1320, at Minster, Kent, and on a contemporary brass in the same church, where it appears as a low skull-cap with attached camail. At Ryther, Yorks., it is found with a low central ridge on the freestone effigy of Sir William Ryther, who died in 1318. Slightly later is an effigy in Ash church, Kent, which must be roughly contemporary with the very similar effigy of John of Eltham, d. 1334, in Westminster Abbey, on which the form of the bascinet is somewhat obscured by the coronet. Although the only plate shown on these effigies at Ryther and Ash is at the knees, the majority of surviving representations of this form of bascinet are found in conjunction

with plate on both arms and legs. It can hardly be earlier than 1310, the approximate date at which the bascinet makes its first appearance in this country. It cannot, on the other hand, be much later than the middle of the century, by which date the later fourteenth-century form seems to have been universally established.

The body-armour portrayed on the Harrington monument is of

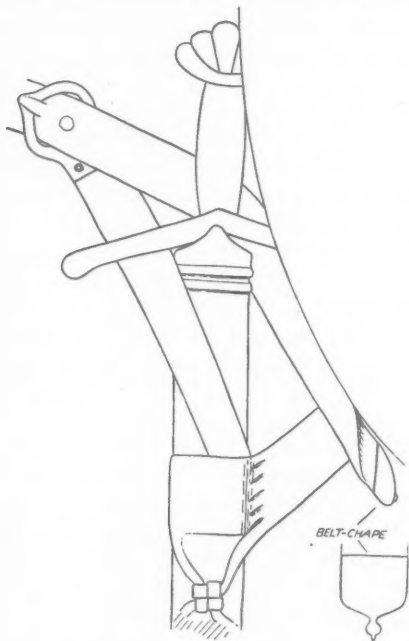


FIG. 1. Cartmel Priory, Lancs.

the simplest. The arms are entirely free from plate, and that on the legs is confined to the knees. The precise date when knee-cops were first introduced cannot be defined, but it was certainly prior to the cutting of the earliest existing brass, that of Sir John d'Abernon, senior, d. 1277, at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey. The extension of the idea to the protection of the whole of the legs and arms was the work of the first half of the fourteenth century. Elbow-cops first appear alone, as on an effigy in Salisbury Cathedral attributed, very dubiously, to William Longspee the younger, or on the effigies of Sir Robert de Keynes, *c.* 1310, at Dodford, Northants, and of an unknown man, *c.* 1320, at Halton Holgate, Lincs. Plain sleeves without cops are still found, however, for example on the effigies of Sir Richard de Whatton, *c.* 1325, at Whatton, Notts., and of Aymer de Valence, d. 1323, in Westminster Abbey. On the other hand, elaborate plate on both legs and arms appears on the

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brasses of Sir John d'Abernon, junior, d. 1327, at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, and of Sir John de Creke, c. 1325, at Westley Waterless, Cambs., and perhaps a few years earlier on the Bacon brass at Gorleston, Suffolk; and by the next decade it was the regular custom. Abroad, e.g. in Spain and in Germany (J. G. Mann, 'Notes on the armour worn in Spain from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries', *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii,

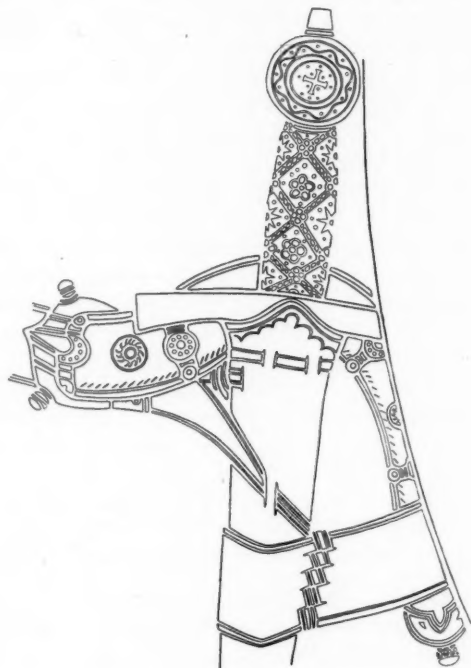


FIG. 2. Acton, Suffolk.

1933, 285-305; and 'Notes on the Evolution of Plate Armour in Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *ibid.* lxxxiv, 1934, 69-97), mail persisted until a considerably later date; but in this country the Harrington effigy, with its rudimentary plate-armour, can hardly be later than c. 1325.

The sword-belt with its elaborately laced attachment to the scabbard is of a type familiar in the latter part of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (fig. 1). The details vary slightly, but the principle throughout is that illustrated by Laking, *European Armour and Arms*, fig. 110. It can be seen very clearly, for example, on the brass of Sir Robert de Bures, d. 1302, at Acton, Suffolk (fig. 2). The earliest securely dated example is that on the brass of Sir John d'Abernon, senior, d. 1277, at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, and it is shown regularly

on brasses and effigies until about 1310, when metal scabbard-mounts begin to appear.¹ The next twenty years saw a bewildering variety of practice, but the laced leather form remained in sporadic use until about 1325. Late examples can be seen on the Bacon brass, *c.* 1320, at Gorleston, Suffolk, where it accompanies a mail coif and elaborate plate on the arms; and on the Halton Holgate effigy, *c.* 1320, which is wearing a low bascinet with vizor.

The Harrington effigy can be dated then within reasonably narrow limits. The bascinet can hardly be earlier than *c.* 1310, and is indeed unlikely to be quite as early. On the other hand, the body-armour and sword-belt are of a type that was generally obsolete by *c.* 1325. The effigy must fall within the fifteen years 1310-25.

Of the sword itself little need be said. The pommel is of the same general form as that on the effigy of Robert of Normandy, *c.* 1290, in Gloucester Cathedral, and betrays unmistakably its Viking ancestry. The length of the quillons is characteristic of the fourteenth as distinct from the thirteenth century. The marked slope of the quillons may in part be the work of the artist, but the knobbed terminals are familiar, e.g. on the Bacon brass, *c.* 1320, at Gorleston, Suffolk. The blade itself is hidden, and the point, together with the scabbard-chape, is broken off. The belt-chape is plain save for a projecting terminal, and lacks the ogival opening usual in the early fourteenth century. The chief interest of the sword lies, however, not in its detailed form, but in the evidence which it affords of the late survival of Viking types in northern England. It is notorious that swords of substantially Viking form were still in use in Scotland in post-medieval times. We have yet to prove continuity, but we are a long way towards bridging the gap.

¹ A unique transitional form, in which the lacing of the lower scabbard-mount has given place to a ring linking the mount to the belt, can be seen on the brass of Sir Robert de Setvans, *d.* 1306, at Chartham, Kent.

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Some Unknown English Embroideries of the Fifteenth Century

By BETTY KURTH

ALTHOUGH English embroideries have become a very popular subject of study and careful research during recent years,¹ there are still a great number of hitherto unknown pieces scattered in private and public collections all over the world. Especially the works of the later medieval centuries are not yet properly collected and published, and regarding this later period much further research remains to be done.

The embroidered chasuble cross, reproduced here for the first time (pl. x), which was formerly owned by a Venetian dealer and collector,² belongs to such a later group of English needlework. The cross, measuring 4 ft. 3 in. in height by 1 ft. 10 in. in width, is pieced together from different fragments. Six saints are represented with their attributes, standing under architectural pinnacled canopies: St. Margaret stabbing the dragon with her cross-staff; St. Mary Magdalene holding up a vase of ointment in her right hand, a book in her left; St. Helen bearing a huge cross; St. Andrew with a book and the saltire cross; and St. Catherine holding a little wheel. This last figure is cut off horizontally at the waist.

The fact that St. Mary Magdalene appears twice seems to show that pieces from different works were used to patch up the cross,³ but these fragments, being alike in style, were obviously taken from the same set of vestments. One may assume that in the centre Christ on the Cross was originally depicted, with angels carrying chalices, a representation common on English chasuble crosses.⁴

The embroidery is executed in gold, silver, and coloured silks on a foundation of fine linen. The backgrounds are closely covered with underside-couched gold thread, forming diamond-shaped ornaments. The draperies, faces, and architectural features are embroidered with coloured silks in split stitch, which is so characteristic in English needlework of the middle ages. But the lines of stitching in the faces follow the outlines and are not like earlier English embroideries stitched in spirals.⁵

¹ I refer to the most important work of Mrs. A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery*, Oxford, 1938, and to the valuable researches of Mr. A. F. Kendrick.

² I am unaware of the present whereabouts of the work.

³ Sometimes, indeed, a popular saint appears twice on the same vestment, for example, St. Andrew with the saltire cross on a later chasuble, lent by Mr. G. Chafyn-Grove to the Exhibition of English Embroidery, Burlington Fine Arts Club, pl. xi.

⁴ Cf. Chasuble Cross, Collection Iklé, St. Gallen (fig. 2), or Back of a chasuble in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of English Ecclesiastical Embroideries*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1916, pl. xxiii, &c.

⁵ In the English works of the later period the faces used to be stitched in the same way as on our embroidery.

There can be no doubt as to the English origin of this embroidery. All stylistic and technical details find convincing analogies in other well-known examples of English needlework. The piece is closely connected with a larger group of English embroideries dating from different periods. To this group belong:

Chasuble Cross in the Iklé Collection, St. Gallen (pl. viii).¹ This work shows in the centre Christ on the Cross with six angels, most of them bearing chalices; above, God the Father with the globe; below, St. Mary Magdalene with the vase of ointment and St. Thaddeus with lance and book; all the figures standing under pinnacled canopies.

Orphrey in the Iklé Collection, St. Gallen (pl. ix), with three figures: Christ from the Last Judgement, St. Dorothea with the basket of roses, and St. Peter with book and keys. These figures are also set in niches surmounted by pinnacled canopies.

Orphrey with Saints. Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquante-naire.²

Chasuble Cross with Crucifixion and Saints, owned by Rt. Rev. Bishop Knight.³

Dalmatic-orphrey with figures of apostles and prophets. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴

Cope-orphrey with apostles and prophets. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.⁵

Chasuble Cross with Crucifixion and Saints. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Gift of Major Harlowe Turner.⁶

Two stripes of orphreys with Saints, belonging to Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins.⁷

This list, which is by no means complete, shows the great number of late ecclesiastical English embroideries still in existence.⁸ All these

¹ Ad. Fäh, *Die Sammlung Iklé*, Zürich, p. 12.

² Isabelle Errera, *Collection de Broderies Anciennes*, Bruxelles 1905, No. 19.

³ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of English Embroidery*, London, 1905, pl. xv, 2, p. 62.

⁴ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of English Ecclesiastical Embroideries*, 1930, pl. xxii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. xxx.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv.

⁷ A. F. Kendrick, 'English Ecclesiastical Embroideries', *Embroidery*, vol. vi, March 1938, p. 27, pl. xx. Cf. the outermost orphreys to right and left.

⁸ Later descendants of the same style, pieces executed mostly about 1500 or at the beginning of the 16th century:

Chasuble Cross with figures of apostles and prophets. Owned by Mr. G. Troyte-Chafyn-Grove (Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, 1905, pl. xi. 1).

Cope-orphreys with figures of apostles and prophets. Owned by Oscott College, Birmingham (Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition 1905, pl. xxi. 1, 2).

Cope-orphrey with Saints. Owned by St. Dominic's Priory, London, Haverstock Hill (Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, 1905, pl. xxviii. 1).

Chasuble Cross with Christ on the Cross and Saints. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue &c.*, 1930, pl. xxxvii).

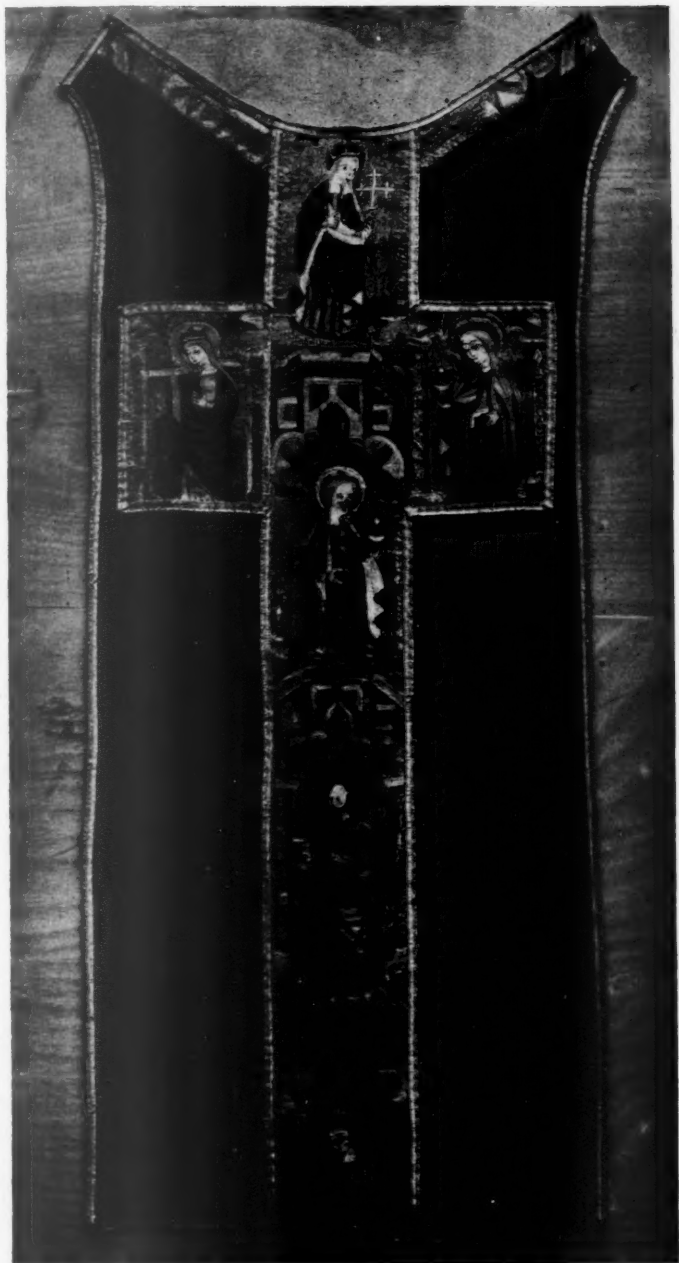
Chasuble Cross with Christ on the Cross and Saints. St. Michael's Church, Aber-



Chasuble Cross, English embroidery. 15th century. Coll. Iklé, St. Gallen



Orphrey, English Embroidery. 15th century. Coll. Iklé, St. Gallen



Chasuble Cross, English embroidery. First half of the 15th century. Formerly belonging to Commendatore Löwy, Venice

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works, though of different date, are nearly related. They show the same heavy architectural framework, the same pinnaced canopies, and the same golden backgrounds, mostly diamond-shaped, executed in undercouch-stitching. The style of the swinging figures and the gothic softness of the draperies, which are handled in broad stripes, is similar, as well as the shades of the colours and their combination.

The English origin of the newly found embroidery is confirmed also by iconographical arguments. All the saints represented fit well into the programme of English ecclesiastical needlework. Andrew, the patron of Scotland, appears very frequently on chasuble crosses, for example on an orphrey of about 1350¹ and on a chasuble cross of the middle of the fifteenth century,² both in the Victoria and Albert Museum and on nearly all the later orphreys. The other national saint, St. Helen, is to be found on an orphrey of about 1350³ and on a chasuble cross of the early fifteenth century,⁴ both in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Also St. Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret are very popular figures in English work.

It is easier to locate these embroideries than to date them. Embroideries, like many other works of the applied arts, at times look older than they are, in consequence of the retarding influence and resistance of the material. Here the most advanced features must point the way. The attempts at perspective and shortening in the designs of the canopies, which are no more the gracile lightly built Gothic arches, expanding in leaves, as in the earlier works, but have become more ponderous and clumsy and are crowned with a row of pinnacles, seem to indicate that we cannot fix the date of the whole group before the early fifteenth century. Between this time and the end of this century most of the above-mentioned embroideries may have been executed.

It is true that the art of picture embroidery in England began to decline at this period and did not reach the artistic peak of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the group here described is interesting, bearing witness to a still rather extensive production of English ecclesiastical needlework during the fifteenth century.

gavenny (*English Medieval Art, Catalogue of Exhibition 1930*, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 659). Orphreys belong to Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins (see p. 32, note 7).

Chasuble-orphrey with Saints. Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire (Errera, *op. cit.*, no. 30).

Chasuble Cross. Campion Hall, Oxford.

Different Chasuble Crosses and orphreys. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Textiles.

¹ Christie, *op. cit.*, pl. CLIII.

² Kendrick, *Catalogue* 1916, pl. XIX.

³ Christie, *op. cit.*, pl. CLIII.

⁴ Kendrick, *Catalogue* 1916, pl. XVI.

Late Neolithic Grooved Ware near Cambridge

By D. H. S. FRERE

THE site to be described was discovered by the writer in a newly cut ditch three miles south of Cambridge on the Hills Road (fig. 1). It was revealed in section as a small pit, about 3 ft. across by 2 ft. deep,

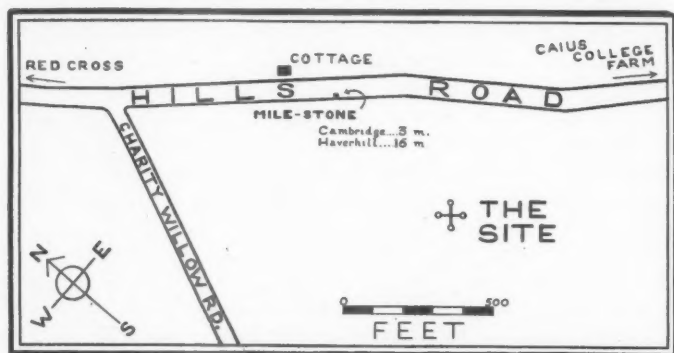


FIG. 1. Sketch map showing position of site.

sunk into the chalk (fig. 2), and investigation showed that the major part of it had already been removed: when cleared the recess was found to extend in plan barely a foot from the face. The spot lies at about 60 ft. above O.D., and the ground rises very gently on three sides, but is level or slightly depressed towards the north-west. The sub-soil is the Lower Chalk,¹ which at this point is overlain by about 8 in. of brown soil and the same depth of dark plough-soil.

The finds from such a restricted site were inevitably meagre but nevertheless of considerable interest; they comprised flints, mollusca, bones, and pottery. These are now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

THE FINDS

Flints. A fair quantity of flint flakes were scattered throughout the filling, a few showing traces of secondary working. As a rule they were patinated a smooth white, sometimes varying to mottled whitish-grey. Besides these the pit contained a number of pieces of soft sandstone, but none of these showed signs of use and they were presumably derived naturally from surrounding glacial deposits.

Mollusca. The mollusca recovered from the filling of the pit were submitted to Mr. A. E. Ellis, who kindly examined them. His report is printed below (Appendix I), but we may note here that he considers them on the whole to represent a marsh fauna, while commenting on the presence of two dry-loving

¹ Cambridge Region (1938), 27.

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species which are never found alive with certain of the marsh species. This incompatibility will be discussed below.

Bones. A few pieces of bone were recovered from the pit-filling fallen to the bottom of the ditch, and several smaller pieces were excavated from the pit itself. They were submitted to Mr. M. A. C. Hinton of the British Museum (Natural History), who says that while it is impossible to identify any of them with certainty,

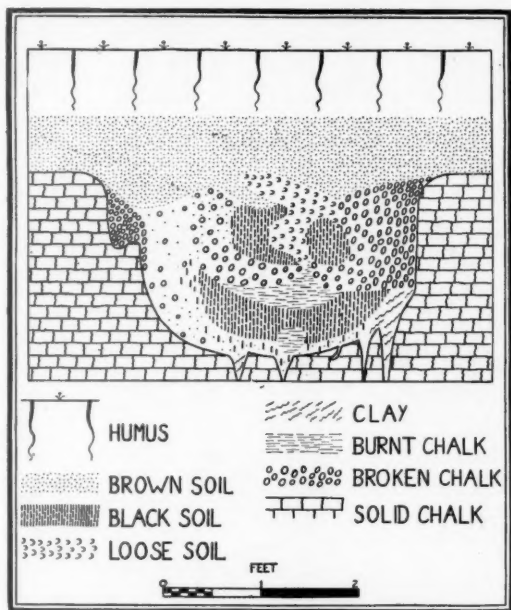


FIG. 2. Section exposed in vertical ditch face.

it is probable that they nearly all belong to a small domestic ox. One piece might possibly be from the metacarpal of a very large sheep.

Pottery. A number of coarse brown sherds (fig. 3) were recovered from pit-filling lying fallen at the bottom of the ditch, and one or two from the pit itself, in which, however, there was no apparent system of stratification. They were identified by Dr. Grahame Clark as Grooved Ware similar to that recovered from the 'Lyonnesse' surfaces at Clacton.

1. Rim: brown surface, probably not a slip but baked, as large grits protrude; black paste, containing backing of large fragments of pounded shell; four grooves on outside face; inner surface cordoned as in 2.
2. Rim: surface and paste similar to 1; exterior surface much worn and flaked and so featureless; interior cordoned surface figured.
3. Decorated fragment: black paste, containing cockle or oyster fragments; smooth surface dull brown, figured surface lighter brown, perhaps a slip. Decoration consists of applied ribs to form lozenges (cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii, 190, fig. 4, nos. 2 and 4). Probably from just below the rim on the inside of a large 'flowerpot bowl'.

4. Grey paste; brown interior and reddish exterior surface, perhaps a slip; large and small shell backing; four grooves.
5. Black paste; dull brown surface, perhaps a slip; medium shell backing; four grooves.

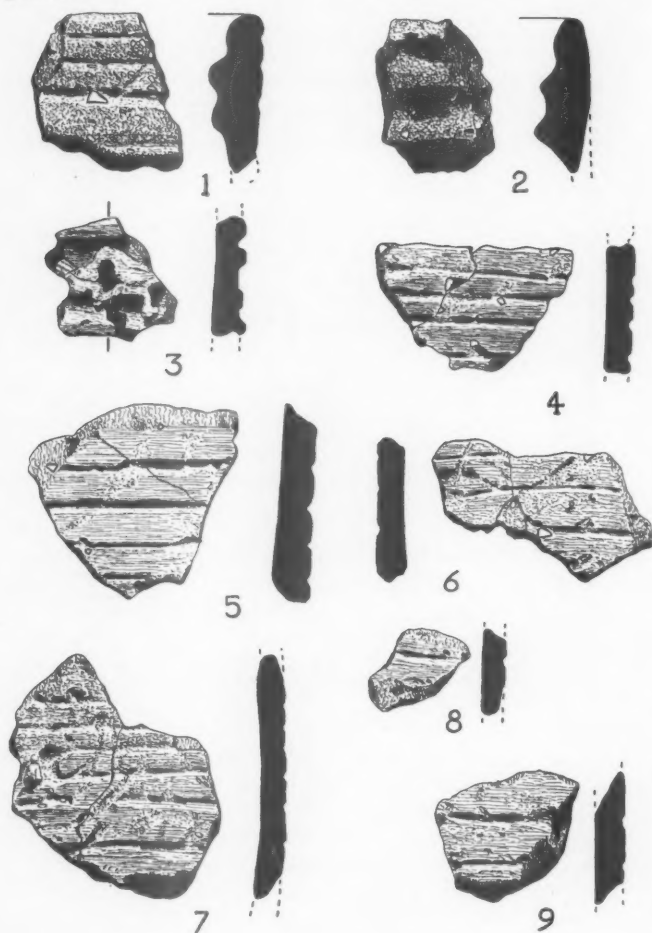


FIG. 3. Sherds of Grooved Ware (Æ).

6. Soft brown to grey paste, brown surface.
7. Dark grey paste; interior surface brown, with large and small shell grit protruding; exterior surface brown to red, hard but rough.
- 8 and 9. Similar to 6.

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Though 4 and 7 may be said to resemble rather rough Beaker ware, there seems no reason to regard them as other than part of a homogeneous collection of Grooved Ware sherds similar to those recovered from the type site at Clacton. Of interest are the large fragments of shell visible in sherd 3 and in another small unfigured piece. Shell was not uncommonly used in prehistoric times for backing pottery, especially in the Early Iron Age (e.g. Meon Hill: Miss Liddell (quoting J. Davy Dean) in *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xiii, pt. 1, 26), while fragments of shells considered to be *Macra solida* (= *Spisula solida*) were found in the Early Bronze Age pottery of Woodhenge, with those of two other marine species, *Paphia decussata* and *P. pullastra* (Davy Dean in Mrs. Cunnington's *Woodhenge* (1929), p. 75).

The use of pounded shell either with or instead of flint grit in the making of pottery might provide subject for comprehensive investigation. Here we can only say that the presence of these marine shells at Woodhenge (a site closely related, especially in its pottery, to the one under discussion) disposes of any notion of special significance in their occurrence at Cambridge, seeing that Woodhenge is twenty-four miles from the nearest sea (that is, the head of Southampton Water), while Cambridge (as is shown below) was probably much nearer. It is at least apparent that at this period shell-fish (or certainly their shells) were liable to be carried over considerable distances.

Mr. A. E. Ellis inspected the sherds and confirmed the marine derivation of several of the projecting fragments of shell, and it also seemed advisable to obtain a more complete analysis of the contents of the sherds in case they contained other evidence (e.g. petrological) which might aid in the precise determination of their provenance or date. With this in view they were submitted to Dr. F. E. Zeuner; his report appears below (Appendix II), and the evidence which it provides is discussed later.

CONCLUSION¹

Dating as it does from the close of Neolithic times, this site is an important addition to our knowledge of the transition to the Early Bronze Age in the Cambridge district. Clark has recently summed up the facts ascertained so far: Neolithic A pottery has been found at Peacock's Farm in the fens; in the south of the county is the Long Barrow on Therfield Heath, Royston; Neolithic B has not been found near Cambridge.

Grooved Ware is occasionally found in association with Beakers, but its distribution does not coincide with any Beaker group, being found

¹ Except where otherwise stated, the facts summarized in the argument have been derived from the following sources: Piggotts's report on the Grooved Ware site at Clacton (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii (1936), 191 ff.), Childe's *Prehistoric Communities*, 84 ff., and *Dawn of European Civilization* (1939), 315-16, Hawke's *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, 268 ff., and Clark's survey of Cambridgeshire Archaeology in *The Cambridge Region* (1938), 82 ff.

both in the B2 and B1 areas and also outside them. Sometimes it is found with Peterborough (Neolithic B) wares. At Clacton, too, the site at Lion Point was unconnected with the B2 Beakers otherwise plentiful in the area. The Grooved Ware people therefore came across the North Sea from Holland shortly before the earliest (B2) Beaker invasion of our area, spreading inland beyond the coastal region¹ from which the B2 Beaker folk did not venture. This B2 invasion Hawkes has recently argued should be dated about 1900 B.C. Before the next incursion, that of the A Beaker folk at about 1800 B.C., occurred the land subsidence which resulted in the 'drowning' of large areas off the present Essex coast, where Neolithic A and B, Grooved Ware, and B2 Beaker horizons were covered by peat and 10 ft. of clay, and in the deposition of the silt and 'buttery clay' layers on the fen region.² Above this marine deposit at Shippea Hill freshwater peat again began to form, and at the base of this upper peat was the A Beaker horizon of the Early Bronze Age. As Hawkes remarks: 'archaeology and natural sciences are here combining to define a very closely-dated series of events.' The main 'avenue of entry' for the A Beaker invaders, as is indicated by the distribution of their beakers, was the Wash; they settled fairly thickly round the fens, and it is thus unlikely that the Grooved Ware folk remained unaffected for long here after c. 1800 B.C.

Thus we see that the Grooved Ware from our site may date from before 1900 B.C. or at any rate be previous to the sea transgression, but it may equally have outlasted this until the arrival of the A Beaker folk a century later. The mutilated nature of the site when discovered robbed us of the chance of finds of datable flint types or Beaker associations such as are sometimes present, and hence of the possibility of definite conclusions. But of great interest in this connexion is the result of Dr. Zeuner's analysis. He reports the discovery of (1) fragments of oyster and cockle shells, used as backing, (2) one freshwater gastropod, and (3) foraminifera. Of these the last two presumably arrived in the clay by natural means, and this immediately raises the question how two such incompatible types have come to be associated. It is noteworthy that Mr. Ellis comments on an equal, though not precisely similar, incompatibility in the mollusca excavated with the pottery, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that both cases were due ultimately to the same cause.

Now just at this time—during the nineteenth century B.C.—a subsidence of the land caused the sea to flood large areas of the fens, bringing marine silt and 7 ft. of clay as far south as Ely; and we should not be far wrong in envisaging brackish lagoon conditions extending up the Cam Valley at least as far south as Bottisham and Quy.³ This would

¹ Clark, *Antiquity*, v, 421, fig. 4.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 266-96; xv, 248-319.

³ See Godwin, *Cambridge Region*, 18, and the map on p. 21, which shows extinct watercourses traced by Major Fowler to that neighbourhood.

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provide an ample and accessible source for oysters and cockles, both of which can be estuarine in habitat. Illustration of the use of boats at this period is provided by the wooden paddle found at Clacton. Moreover, that the clay deposited at this period was rich in foraminifera was amply demonstrated by experiments at Shippea Hill,¹ and the influence of fresh water, here postulated by the presence of the gastropod, was also noted at that site. Finally the disturbed conditions of this period might in themselves adequately account for the confusion of the mollusca noted by Mr. Ellis.

Thus it is possible, with all due reserve in view of the limited nature of the evidence, to suggest a pleasing correlation with Geology. Dr. Zeuner asserts that the sherds may well have been made of Fen clay; indeed the only other local source of clay is the boulder clay lying on the high land five miles or so eastwards from the site, and he considers this, in view of the presence of foraminifera and of the general appearance of the paste, to be a most unlikely provenance. But if they were made of Fen clay they must date from after the land-subsidence and its accompanying flood; and if this be granted, a precise historical context begins to take shape. At the Clacton site Grooved Ware was pre-Flood, at ours it was post-Flood. But that need not imply any very great difference in age, both because the land subsidence need not everywhere have been quite contemporaneous, and because recent opinion (Hawkes) does not allow a gap of much more than a century between the B and A Beaker invasions, between which occurred the subsidence. Thus our Grooved Ware people may be regarded as settlers two or three generations younger than the first immigrants at Clacton, who will have landed in the latter half of the twentieth century B.C. They are not, however, likely to have survived the A Beaker invasion, whose full force broke over the Cambridge area soon after 1800 B.C.

In conclusion, it is as well to emphasize that this attempt to arrive at a close date, relying principally as it does upon the discovery of four unidentified foraminifera, must not be accepted without reserve. Nevertheless, whatever the precise chronology of this site, its presence is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the Late Neolithic in Cambridgeshire, since, as has been observed above, that period has hitherto been but poorly represented.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to my brother, Sheppard Frere, who supplied many of the references and whose suggestions materially aided the arguments here set forth; also to Mr. Ellis for his identification of the associated mollusca; and particularly to Dr. Zeuner, who kindly undertook the examination of the sherds. Gratitude is also due to Mr. Hinton of the British Museum (Natural History) for his remarks on the bones.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 289 ff.

APPENDIX I. *Molluscan Shells from Neolithic Site near Cambridge*

Identified by A. E. ELLIS, M.A., F.L.S.

(Normal habitats at present time. Figures indicate number of shells collected.)

- Pomatias elegans* (Müller): 2. Chalk or limestone, usually in woods or copses or downland scrub, also old hedges.
- Lymnaea palustris* (Müller): 1. Freshwater, also in very wet swamps, fens, and marshes.
- Succinea pfeifferi* Rossmässler: 1. Marshes, river-banks, reed swamp, etc.; always close to water, but not aquatic.
- Vallonia pulchella* (Müller): 2. Damp meadows, marshes, fens; not in woods.
- Vallonia excentrica* Sterki: 1. Drier places than the last; both do occur together.
- Ceciloides acicula* (Müller): 46. May live in wet places (e.g. marshes) or in dry situations (e.g. chalk downs). Subterranean; frequent in graves and amongst bones, but not confined to such places; often seen in mole-hills. Some of the shells collected at this site look fairly recent, but others are contemporary with the rest of the shells.
- Cochlicopa lubrica* (Müller): 2. Ubiquitous; woods, hedges, marshes, meadows, etc.
- Gonyodiscus rotundatus* (Müller): 2. Very common; woods, hedges, marshes; usually on fallen logs, but often amongst nettles, clumps of grass or sedge, etc.
- Helicella itala* (Linné): 14. Dry calcareous places, e.g. downs, sand-dunes, edges of cornfields; not in woods or damp places.
- Trichia hispida* (Linné): 1. Ubiquitous; may occur almost anywhere from dry downs to swamps, in the open or in woods.
- Cepaea nemoralis* (Linné): 5, and fragments of others. Habitat similar to the last. Two of the shells may be a later intrusion, but the rest are of the same age as the other specimens.
- Retinella nitidula* (Draparnaud): 1. Prefers fairly moist places; woods, marshes, hedges, etc., but not in very dry places.
- Oxychilus alliarius* (Müller): 1. Similar to last.
- Oxychilus cellarius* (Müller): 5. Similar to last two.

If it were not for two species, viz. *P. elegans* and *H. itala*, this would constitute a typical marsh fauna, or would be quite characteristic of river-banks or water meadows near a stream. The two species named are, however, xerophilous, particularly *H. itala*, and are never found in association with *L. palustris* or *S. pfeifferi*. They might occur with any of the other species, except perhaps *V. pulchella*. It is evident therefore that the deposit is of mixed origin, but how this came about I am unable to suggest. Might the explanation be that there was a stream, pond, or marsh, passing abruptly into drier, chalky slopes with scrub, or slightly higher ground surrounded by or adjacent to marsh? As I have not seen the site, this is pure speculation. Another explanation is flooding, by which *palustris* and *pfeifferi* were transported some distance from their habitat; such incompatible assemblages do occur in flood jetsam; I am inclined to favour this theory, but was there a river or stream near enough to the site to effect this?

APPENDIX II. *Report on Shell Fragments found in Grooved Ware Sherds at Hills Road, Cambridge*

By F. E. ZEUNER, Dr. habil., Ph.D.

The sherds contain three kinds of fossils: (1) fragments of marine mollusca, which are most abundant; (2) freshwater mollusca, of which only one specimen was recovered; and (3) foraminifera, which could be extracted from an otherwise valueless sherd and which are likely to be present in some numbers in all sherds.

1. The fragments of marine molluscan shells are small, the largest measuring about 4 square millimetres, but most of them are much smaller. They are derived from two different species. One species is characterized by a laminated, easily splitting nacreous layer. The only frequent species available in quantities in the district would have been *Ostrea edulis* L., the oyster. The second species is characterized by a thick prismatic layer and radial ribs and grooves, the structure of which shows it to be *Cardium edule* L., the cockle.

The shell fragments are preserved in a manner which renders it probable that they were added to the paste as a grit. It is interesting that both species, though marine, enter brackish water, and that both are edible. The molluscs, therefore, appear to have provided food as well as grit for pot-making, so that it was a decidedly economic proposition to collect them.

2. In one of the sherds a small shell of a freshwater gastropod was found. It has a diameter of about 1 mm. and is either a young specimen, or the remainder of a destroyed larger shell. Its discoidal shape, striation, and texture suggest that it belongs to the Planorbidae, among which it agrees with *Gyraulus* sp. This determination has very kindly been confirmed by Mr. Day Kimball, F.G.S., who says that it certainly is a *Planorbis* in the wider sense, though the condition of the shell permits of no more than suggesting that it is a *Gyraulus*. The Planorbidae are freshwater species which, according to Mr. A. S. Kennard, F.G.S., do not enter brackish water while alive.

The presence of this fragile shell in the clay from which the sherd was made would suggest that some kind of freshwater clay was used, but the foraminifera found in one of the sherds plainly contradict such conclusion.

3. One sherd, a fragment without features of interest, was carefully soaked and broken up, in order to see whether any foraminifera were present. The result was in the affirmative. Dr. H. Dighton Thomas was able to pick out four foraminifera. Considering that the sample was not more than one cubic centimetre in volume, foraminifera appear to be fairly frequent in the clay from which the sherds were made. Foraminifera do not live in fresh water. Many species, however, are able to withstand brackish-water conditions, and W. A. Macfadyen, (*Geol. Mag.* lxxv (1938), 409-17) found as many as 116 species in the brackish-water clays of the English Fenlands. The determination of the species to which the four specimens mentioned belong is at present impossible, though it might prove to be interesting. I am grateful to Dr. Thomas for his efforts in this direction.

Conclusion. Petrologically, the material of which the sherds are composed does not provide hints as to its origin. There is no evidence, however, against assuming that it is chiefly composed of fen-clay such as was deposited in the area, according to Godwin, not earlier than the Grooved Ware occupation. The foraminifera are in support of this theory, the single freshwater shell may have lived in the neighbourhood and have got in accidentally, and the use of marine shells as grit has no direct bearing on the origin of the clay used in the paste.

The Dictionary of British Arms: Report of Progress

By ANTHONY R. WAGNER, F.S.A., Richmond Herald, General Editor.

THE collection of material for the *Dictionary of British Arms* under the Croft Lyons bequest has been in progress since early in 1940. It is thought that Fellows may now wish to have some account of the progress made, the problems met with, and the solutions proposed. An article which appeared in this journal in October 1941 explained that the material was being gathered from primary heraldic sources in card-index form, asked for help with the work, and set out in some detail the forms of entry decided on. The summary of cards written which follows will show how generous and notable the answer to the appeal for help has been. The annual income from the bequest is now about £600. From this Council has authorized for the present an expenditure of £300 a year, the balance being saved against the much heavier expenditure which the later, editorial, stage of the work will call for. Even now the rapid progress made has only been possible because the bulk of the indexing has been done by Fellows and others without payment, while there is at this stage no need for a paid editor or editorial staff. The bulk of expenditure so far has been on sorting and other office work, on the indexing of certain special sources such as the College of Arms and Lyon and Ulster Office Records, and on journeys, transport, photography, and materials.

Each new contributor who undertakes to index a particular printed or manuscript source first sits down with the instructions, writes a dozen or so cards as best he can, then sends these to the editor for comment. This comment usually suffices to clear up misunderstandings, though from time to time questions are bound to arise on cards which call for reference back from editor to contributor. The cards when they reach the editor are examined for such points, and then, if none occur, are sorted into medieval and modern—armory, ordinary, crest, supporter, and motto. Those of each of these ten classes are next put in their separate drawers to await sorting. The sorting, especially the sorting of ordinary cards, is difficult and somewhat laborious, though interesting and very instructive work, and is carried out only at intervals. It is done in London, and any volunteers to help with it will be most gratefully welcomed. Periodically a sorted batch is taken down to the country, where the main index is stored for greater safety. Since the editor's visits to this country depository are few and short, the several ordinary indices there have had to remain divided into the several alphabets in which they have successively been taken down. It has, however, been possible to sort each of the two armory indices into a single alphabet.

The medieval portion is rather less than half the whole bulk of

material so far collected, but since, in the whole field to be covered, the modern is estimated to be nine-tenths of the whole, it will be seen that the medieval has been given a decided priority. This is because we hope to produce a self-contained medieval volume or volumes much in advance of the final completed work. It is not, however, meant that the latter, when it follows, should contain only the modern remainder, but that it should comprise modern and medieval both in one, and for the latter not merely a repetition of the original advance volume, but that completed and amended.

The editorial work will consist of relating to one another entries of the same name or arms from different sources, and this is bound often to turn on points of genealogy. The existence of official pedigree records in connexion with those of arms and of many well worked out pedigrees will make the genealogical problem rather less acute for the modern part of the work. For the medieval part, however, it will be at once cardinal and full of difficulty. Very much raw material of medieval genealogy is now in print or fairly easily available in modern manuscript abstracts. But the collation of this material into reliable pedigrees has gone only a very little way. Each successive volume of the new *Complete Peerage* has shown more clearly what can and could be done, but has shown too how formidable the labour is when the work is tackled piecemeal in searches of the whole bulk of record for single families at a time, rather than by a single, general, genealogical indexing of the sources for all families at once.

Such an indexing would have to be carefully related to its special purpose. A mere index of names would not do. The key to a knightly pedigree often lies in recognizing the same house holding lands in widely separated regions and using the record of one tenure to fill the gaps in that of another. In earlier times the very place of the holding has often to be inferred from knowledge of the overlord and of its size and from demonstration of continuity with a later located holding. The method, therefore, of indexing records for this purpose would require most careful working out. There is, however, much 'pre-digested' material in print and manuscript whose indexing would be much easier. Pre-eminent in this class is the great sorted mass of material brought together for use in the *Victoria County History*.

It may be thought that for the special purpose of a *Dictionary of Arms* so elaborate a genealogical apparatus as is here suggested would be a luxury—useful, no doubt, but not essential. Let anyone who holds this view index two or three medieval Rolls of Arms, with their corruptions of text, unexplained differences of coats, variations of arms which may or may not be true differences, and use of wholly different coats by men of the same name, and see whether he thinks that such problems can begin to be solved without genealogical research. And even these problems are not central. The main and fundamental point is that without such research our Dictionary will be an index of phantoms

without anchorage in history. Of what use is it to know that such and such were the arms of Sir John FitzRalph if we have no notion at all who Sir John FitzRalph was, when he lived or where, whose tenant, whose son, or whose father?

The same argument *mutatis mutandis* applies to the modern material. There the work of identification is less difficult in any one instance and is greater in total bulk only because the whole bulk of modern material is itself so great. But it is worth remarking that, if this genealogical work has to be done at all, it will with little extra trouble be possible so to use it as to add greatly to the value of the book, by making it not only a *Dictionary of British Arms* but a *Dictionary of British Arms and Families*. A summary pedigree and a reference to the best sources of fuller information for every family named would make the work immensely useful. Nothing like this now exists, nor in any other connexion is it likely to be undertaken. In this connexion it could be undertaken with relatively little additional work and trouble.

The difficulty is the cost, and for this there is no remedy but additional endowment by public or private benefaction. We have said that half our income is at present being put aside each year against the very much heavier expense which the editorial stage of the work will inevitably bring. But it does not seem likely that what we shall have saved will then meet our need, unless we are to be content with progress at a snail's pace over a period indefinitely extended. But delay of this sort would be not merely irksome in itself but injurious to the quality of the work. Research of this character and extent calls for collaborative specialization which a staff of one or two could not achieve. In the past expert, unpaid full-time help might have been hoped for, but it can hardly be looked for in a foreseeable future. The choice therefore seems to lie between fresh endowment and collaboration with existing endowed bodies.

This is for the future. For the present our need is for the further help of Fellows and others in the indexing of sources and sorting of cards. The list which follows will show what has already been achieved.

(a) Pu
(b) Du
(c) Ste
(d) Bri
(e) Sea
(f) Ba
(g) Ha
(h) Sea

(a) A

(b) G
(c) St
(d) G
(e) Ca
(f) Co
(g) T
(h) Ra
(i) T
(j) Ba
(k) Ba
(l) r

Cards written on 10 December 1942.

Ordinary cards
(including Crest,
Badge, Motto, and
Supporter cards)

I. SEALS

	Armory cards	
(a) Public Record Office (Sir W. St. J. Hope's card index)	4,660	4,873
(b) Durham Seals (from Hunter Blair's catalogue, by Mr. R. A. B. Mynors)	674	664
(c) Stevenson's Scottish Seals (in progress)	771	394
(d) British Museum Seals (Sir W. St. J. Hope's annotated copy of Birch's Catalogue; in progress)	1,045	957
(e) Seals in Birmingham City Library (by Rev. Eric Baker, F.S.A.)	81	104
(f) Bacon Seals formerly at Redgrave (from Farrer's account in Inst. Suff. Arch. by Mr. W. P. Jeffcock)	87	92
(g) Hall-Maxwell seals (by Mr. E. W. Playfair)	6	7
(h) Seals at King's School, Bruton, and Coker Court, Somerset (by Mr. T. D. Tremlett)	81	93
	7,405	7,184

II. ROLLS OF ARMS

(a) A manuscript Armory in five loose-leaf volumes by Oswald Barron, indexing 23 Rolls of Arms (Matthew Paris, Glover, Grimaldi, Walford, St. George, Charles, Camden, Heralds', Fitzwilliam, Dering, Segar, Guillim, Holland, Falkirk, Carlawerock, Nativity, Harleian, First Dunstable, Parliamentary, Boroughbridge, Second Dunstable, Antiquaries', and Willement), will itself be used as a part of the Armory, but has had corresponding Ordinary cards written by Mr. H. Ellis Tomlinson and Mr. W. H. Humphreys	0	3,365
(b) Glover's Roll, Wrest Park version (by Rev. F. N. Davis)	214	214
(c) Stirling Roll (by Rev. F. N. Davis)	102	102
(d) Galloway Roll (by Mr. W. H. Humphreys)	252	252
(e) Carlisle Roll (by Rev. F. N. Davis)	276	276
(f) Cotgrave's Ordinary (by Rev. F. N. Davis)	556	556
(g) Thomas Jenyns' Ordinary (by Mr. W. H. Humphreys)	1,630	1,633
(h) Randle Holme's book (Armory cards by Rev. E. E. Doring)	1,146	1,170
(i) Thomas Wriothesley's Roll of Grants (by Rev. F. N. Davis)	432	432
(j) Barker's book of badges (MS. Harl. 4632, ed. Willement in <i>Coll. Top.</i> iii) (by Mr. H. S. London)	346	679
(k) Badges from Cotton MS. Cleopatra C.V., etc. (<i>Retrospective Review</i> , N.S., Vols. i and ii) (by Mr. H. S. London)	100	173
(l) 18th century local Roll in the Birmingham City Library (by Rev. Eric Baker)	81	1,104
	5,135	9,956

III. MONUMENTAL HERALDRY

(a) Mill Stephenson's rubbings of all arms on brasses in the British Isles (by Mr. H. Stanford London, F.S.A.)	4,345	5,364
(b) Westminster Abbey	1,180	1,368
(c) Cornwall, 3 parishes (by Mr. A. de C. Cussans)	8	12
(d) 3 parishes in Cardiganshire, 1 in Carnarvonshire, 20 in Cheshire, 6 in Denbighshire, 16 in Flintshire, 4 in Lancashire, 1 in Shropshire, and 1 in Worcestershire (by Mr. H. Ellis Tomlinson)	545	998
(e) West Dorset, from Historical Monuments Commission collections	225	371
(f) Essex, 13 parishes (by Mr. H. S. London)	45	58
(g) East Sutton, Co. Kent (by Mr. H. S. London)	13	18
(h) North West Lancashire, 12 parishes (by Miss E. M. V. Jones)	57	113
(i) Middlesex, Broadway Chapel, Westminster (by Mr. H. S. London)	8	14
(j) Farrer's Church Heraldry of Norfolk (by Mr. Daniel Gurney; in progress)	905	1,163
(k) Oxfordshire, except the city of Oxford (Armory cards mainly by Mr. E. A. G. Lamborn)	1,170	1,281
(l) City of Oxford, from Gutch's Wood (part only; by Mr. J. W. P. Bourke)	94	119
(m) Tiles from Cleve Abbey, now at Poundesford Park, Somerset (by Mr. A. W. Vivian-Neale, F.S.A.)	27	23
(n) Ockham, Co. Surrey (by Mr. R. N. Bloxam)	24	43
(o) Bellasis, Westmorland Church Notes (by Lt.-Col. C. Hordern)	448	547
(p) Wiltshire, about two-thirds, from various sources	702	804
(q) Pershore Abbey and St. Andrews, Co. Worcester (by Mr. R. N. Bloxam)	40	67
	9,836	12,363

IV. COLLEGE OF ARMS RECORDS

(a) Printed Visitations; Lancashire 1533 and the North 1558	149	213
(b) Manuscript Visitations in the College; Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, London, Somerset, and Dorset, 1530; Sussex, 1570; Cambridge, 1575; Huntingdon, 1613; Surrey, 1623; London, 1687.	1,885	2,459
(c) Grants of Arms, Vols. 3-6	456	948
	2,490	3,620

V. LYON REGISTER

Vols. i-ii, p. 180 (in progress)	3,585	9,782
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VI. BOOKPLATES FROM THE 'EX LIBRIS JOURNAL'

Vols. i-xviii (by Mr. H. S. London, F.S.A.)	939	1,797
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VII. MISCELLANEOUS

	752	499
Total	30,142	45,201
	75,343	

All but about 14,000 of this total (which are now in process of sorting) are in the country and sorted. Their arrangement in drawers there is as follows, each drawer containing about 1,100 cards.

	<i>Number of drawers</i>
(1) Medieval Armory (all one alphabet)	9
(2) Medieval Ordinary (3 alphabets)	13
(3) Medieval Ordinary of Crests and Badges (3 alphabets)	$\frac{1}{2}$
(4) Medieval Ordinary of Supporters, 2 alphabets	$\frac{1}{2}$
(5) Medieval Index of Mottoes	very few
(6) Modern Armory (all one alphabet)	12
(7) Modern Ordinary (4 alphabets)	$14\frac{1}{2}$
(8) Modern Ordinary of Crests and Badges (2 alphabets)	3
(9) Modern Ordinary of Supporters (3 alphabets)	$1\frac{1}{2}$
(10) Modern Index of Mottoes (3 alphabets)	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Total	$56\frac{3}{10}$

about 61,100 cards

The Editor wishes in conclusion to express his warmest thanks to the contributors who have made this impressive total possible, and in particular to Mr. H. Stanford London, Mr. H. Ellis Tomlinson, Mr. W. H. Humphreys, the Rev. F. N. Davis, Mr. Daniel Gurney, Mr. R. A. B. Mynors, the Rev. E. E. Dorling, Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn, Lt.-Col. C. Hordern, and Mr. J. G. Noppen. Several others who do not appear in the present list have valuable contributions in hand and additions to their number will be welcomed.

Notes

A Twelfth-century Copper Cross from Scania.—Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., sends the following: The processional cross reproduced in pl. xi¹ is formed of thick sheet copper, engraved on one face with the Hand of God and the Symbols of the Evangelists, and on the other with a standing figure (presumably representing the Virgin Mary) holding a book, with four busts of angels, and with some conventional ornament. Formerly gilt, it has lost all its golden coating excepting slight traces protected within some of the engraved lines. Originally, as vouched for by several crosses belonging to the same group, it had a tang formed by prolonging the metal at the base. To its front is attached, by a nail through each hand and one between the ankles, a crucifix of cast bronze. This figure, whereof remains of a crown form part, is without marks representing wounds in the feet, and neither does it rest on a suppedaneum, nor does the cross itself show any signs of there ever having been one. There seem to be good reasons, which will be cited below, for thinking that the figure is the one originally made for the cross. Near the end of each of the cross's limbs there is a hole whose intention is not now clear. These holes look as if they might perhaps have served for attaching the cross to some flat surface—possibly that of a book-cover or of a larger cross—even though the engraving on the back would thereby have been hidden.

The cross, which was bought in Paris in 1923, without associated history of any kind, long was a puzzle to English antiquaries; for, while a number of its features suggested German influences, it seemed not quite to accord with types known to have been produced in the metal-working centres of medieval Germany. The solution of its problem came through the publication, in 1938, of a well documented paper,² by the late Professor William Anderson, of Lund, proving that it is a member—but one with certain features which, so far as I know, make it unique—of a group of crosses, whereof less than a dozen appear to have been recorded, made in Scania in the first half of the twelfth century or very soon thereafter. At the time this paper appeared, the present cross was unknown to Prof. Anderson. I sent him photographs of it, with permission to publish them in a note supplementary to his paper; but presumably it was his untimely death a few months later that prevented him from carrying out his intention to do so. In view of this, and of the apparent rarity, away from Sweden, of crosses of the type, as well as of the limited distribution of *Fömsburg*³ outside of Germany, I offer the following note.

Anderson speaks (*op. cit.* 66) of the crosses of the group, whereof 'about ten' were recorded as preserved in Scania, as cut from sheet copper, engraved richly with figures and in part with conventional ornament, and perhaps originally heavily gilt; the obverse carrying a comparatively large image of Christ Crucified and, in circular terminals, half-figures of the Symbols of the Evangelists, or of angels, or of Apostles, differing from the corresponding

¹ From the author's negatives. The cross has for some years been in the Victoria and Albert Museum, on loan.

² 'Romanische Metallkunst in Schonen und Sachsen-Westfalen', in *Fömsburg*, ii (1938), 66–74, with pls. vi–xi.

³ A quarterly published at Leipzig, dealing with 'Peoples and States in Eastern and Northern Europe', and only very rarely including matter directly concerned with questions of art.

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half-figures on the reverse. Furthermore, he observed that 'the severe symmetry, the immobility of the figures and the similar ways in which they are shown either frontally or in half-profile, are very marked'. Excepting that the terminals of our cross are square with wavy edges, the above description applies to it in every particular.

One of the crosses—the one at Östra Torp—on which Anderson based his generalizations is illustrated in his pls. VI (front), VII, and VIII (details). It is engraved in precisely the same way as are our crosses and the few others of the kind whereof I have seen photographs, but rather more skilfully; although unquestionably from the same workshop as are those crosses, it may well be from another hand. On the front the crucifix is engraved¹—uncrowned but with a cruciferous nimbus, the hair falling in masses on the shoulders, the moustache drooping, the ribs strongly marked, the thumbs parallel to the fingers, all just as on our cross, although there is a difference in the arrangement of the loin-cloth, the knees are exposed, and a long nail pierces a wound in each foot directly to the stem of the cross. In the circular terminals are anthropomorphic (half-)figures of the Symbols of the Four Evangelists. On the back are, on the stem, the Virgin Mary with her hands raised in adoration, and, in the terminals, four nimbed half-figures (an adoring woman at either side, and at top and at bottom a person whose sex is indeterminate and who holds a book).

Pl. IX of Anderson's paper reproduces the back of a similar cross, found in Lund, engraved on its stem with the Virgin Mary, her right hand upraised and her left holding the chains of a censer, and in each of its circular terminals with a nimbed and winged angel. Curiously, in each of the internal angles of the cross, beginning and ending about 2 cm. from the tip of the angle, is a thin bar, crossing the 45° of the angle, whose prolongations engraved on the cross itself bend inward in such a way that the four bars with their prolongations together form a sort of four-lobed figure round Mary's head and shoulders.² The front of this cross has been reproduced, on a small scale, by Rydbeck;³ it bears marks of the crucifix formerly attached to it, and the cross has three perforations situated just as are the holes for the attaching of its crucifix to our cross. The Lund cross seems clearly to have been made by the hand that made our cross.

From that same hand came, as already noted by Anderson (*op. cit.* 67), a cross of the same sort at Färingtofta, which similarly has a censuring (?) Mary on the reverse, a group of four arcs about the crossing, and traces of a crucifix which formerly was fastened to it.⁴ A matter of special interest to us in connexion with this cross is that it has, in addition to the three holes for the crucifix, a hole in three of its circular terminals—the top one and the two at the sides—analogueous to the holes in the corresponding terminals of our cross.

It would seem that the Christ attached to our cross most probably

¹ Engraved crucifixes appear also on two crosses of the group in the parish church of Norra Svalöv'; cf. Anderson, *op. cit.* 67.

² While this arrangement may perhaps here have had no more than a decorative intention, the very frequent occurrence in some religious art (e.g. Spanish), in association with the Virgin Mary, of a closely similar four-petalled emblem suggests that it may not have been entirely fortuitous.

³ Cf. O. Rydbeck, 'Utställningen av äldre kyrklig konst från Skåne 1914', in *Äldre kyrklig konst i Skåne*, Lund, 1921, fig. 44.

⁴ Cf. Karl-vilhelm Wählin, 'Några prov på skånsk metallkonst under 1200-talet', in *Äldre kyrklig konst i Skåne*, fig. 3.

is the one originally made for it. It is true that the placing of the nail between the ankles appears, in the absence of any trace of a suppedaneum, somewhat disquieting; but any uneasiness felt as to this would seem to be set at rest by the precise adjustment of the hands—while the arms are in the position normal for crucifixes of the type—to the holes through the cross, the proportions of the figure being normal, and by the absence of traces of any crucifix which was differently proportioned. The single hole whereby the fastening at the ankles is effected is, as I have noted above, paralleled on the Fåringtofta cross; and the presumptive period of that cross, as of our cross, would seem to preclude any notion that the feet of its crucifix were, as in later times, crossed and pierced by a single nail. The long hair falling on the shoulders, and the long moustache, are like the corresponding features of the Östra Torp cross, as well as of those of large wooden crucifixes at Hvitaby¹ and Tryde,² both in Scania. Each of those wooden crucifixes—both of which have, like ours, the feet side by side—wears a crown³ made of copper sheet, engraved seemingly in the workshop in which were made the crosses of our group; wherefore it may well be that it was more usual to crown the crucifixes of the crosses of our group than to give them such a nimbus as appears on the cross at Östra Torp. Furthermore, a small unattached crucifix of gilt bronze, also with the feet side by side, at Rinkaby,⁴ which, because it is of the same period, has been surmised to have been derived from a cross of our group,⁵ wears a crown.

Although our cross has square terminals instead of the round ones which occur in all the several examples to which I have specifically referred above, and which Anderson mentions as characteristic of the group, this need not be regarded as in any way anomalous. Square terminals are not uncommon in contemporary Southern Swedish crosses of other kinds; it is sufficient to cite a processional cross of wood sheathed with thin plating of repoussé copper gilt, in the Historical Museum at Lund University,⁶ and the cross on the Stockholm Historical Museum's altar from Broddetorp.⁷

The strong German influences apparent in the crosses of our group—compare, for example, the representations of the Four Symbols on our cross with the very similar representations on the well-known Fritzlar super-altar⁸—are not difficult to account for. A number of stylistic similarities show clearly that there were connexions between twelfth-century Scanian art (including that of our group of crosses) and the contemporary art of Germany of the milieu of Henry the Lion.⁹ Some of these connexions, already noted by af Ugglas (*op.*

¹ Cf. Wählin, *op. cit.*, fig. 5; Rydbeck, *op. cit.*, fig. 27.

² Cf. C. R. af Ugglas, 'Trydecrucifixet och Lund', in *Från stenålder till rokokok*, Lund, 1937, figs. 2, 3; Wählin, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.

³ Cf. Wählin, *op. cit.*, figs. 7–11; af Ugglas, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

⁴ Cf. Rydbeck, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.

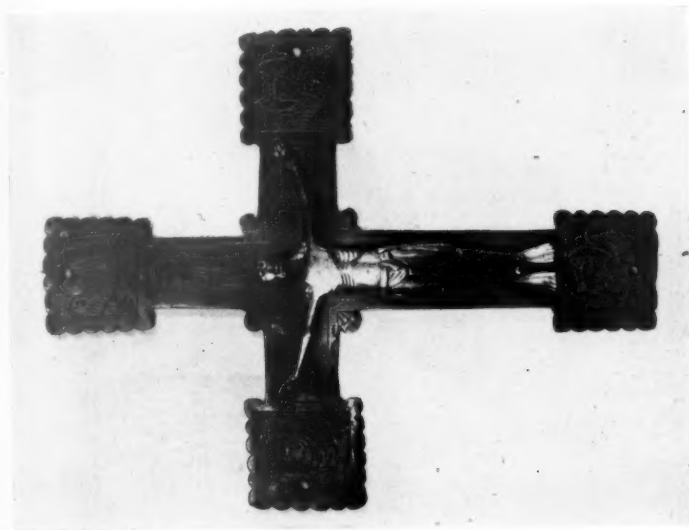
⁵ Cf. Anderson, *op. cit.* 67. Excepting in general character, however, this crucifix does not particularly resemble the one on our cross.

⁶ Cf. Wählin, *op. cit.*, fig. 2; it is believed to be from Scania.

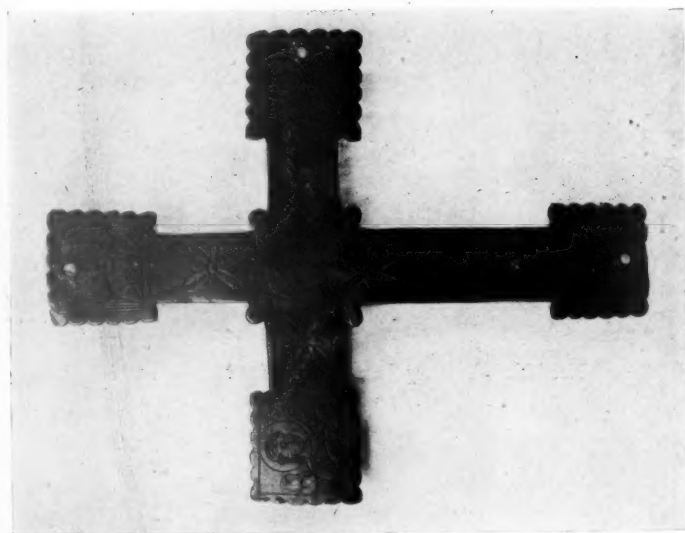
⁷ Cf. G. Ekholm, 'Broddetorps altaret', in *Från stenålder till rokokok*, fig. 1; P. Nør-lund, *Gylde altre . . .* (with English summary, *Golden Altars: Danish Metal Work from the Romanesque Period*), Copenhagen, 1926, figs. 94, 13.

⁸ Cf. af Ugglas, *op. cit.*, fig. 6; for references to other material concerning this object, cf. *ibid.* 280–2, n. 6.

⁹ For a well illustrated disquisition on that art see G. Swarzenski's 'Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen', in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, vii–viii (1932).

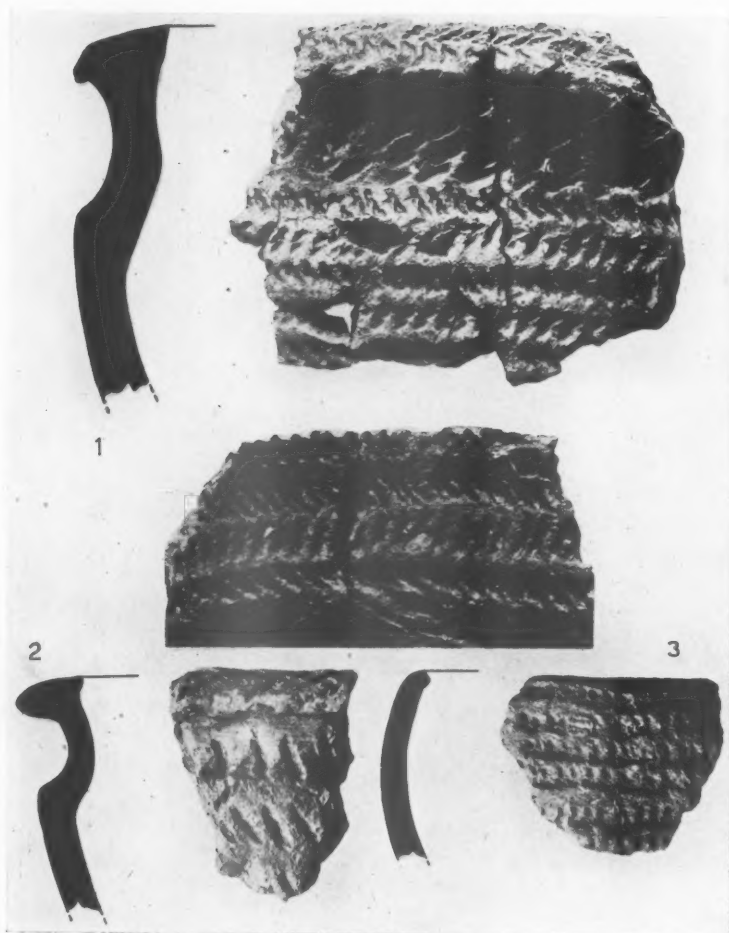


Back



Front

Copper Cross, formerly gilt. Scania, twelfth century



Neolithic 'B' pottery from near Eynsham

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cit.), have been added to by Anderson. Particularly significant is the fact that the St. Laurence monastery at Lund is known to have had fraternal relations with the monastery at Helmarshausen,¹ a notable centre of German artistic activities of various kinds, including highly skilled working in metals, in the twelfth century. Scanian art—in illuminated manuscripts, in small objects, in sculpture, and in wall-paintings—had borne witness to the close relationships (which seem to have continued until the end of that century) between that art and the art of Helmarshausen. But evidence of similar artistic relationships in the first half of the century seemed not to be forthcoming until a comparison of the figures engraved on crosses of our group with figures in certain related, but somewhat more recent, Scanian manuscripts indicated that at least some—among which I am inclined to include our cross—of those crosses are to be credited to about the second quarter of the twelfth century.²

Neolithic 'B' pottery from near Eynsham.—Mr. J. S. P. Bradford sends the following note:—While digging a ditch in an arable field some 350 yards north of Foxley Farm, near Eynsham, Oxon, last year, sherds of Neolithic B ware and animal refuse were recovered from the fillings of two pits, each 2½ ft. in diameter and 2½ ft. deep in the gravel. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine the extent of the settlement thus indicated, partly because an extensive Early Iron Age settlement had been superimposed upon it, but it can be co-related with similar low-level sites at Cassington and Stanton Harcourt, described by Mr. E. T. Leeds (*Oxoniensia*, v, 1). The river-side gravels which fan out north of Oxford would be inherently attractive to Neolithic B occupation. In the same field lie the magnificent group of ring-ditches already identified, in a series of incomparable air photographs, by the late Major Allen (see *Oxoniensia*, vi, for the transcription of these crop marks).

The pottery, which comes from a stratum of burnt matter 6 in. above the floor of the pits, included the rims of two bowls and a small basin or cup, now in the Ashmolean Museum, which well exemplify many of the features typical of Neolithic B wares in the Thames valley and the Nene valley. No. 1 (see pl. XII) has a reddish-brown fabric with an almost 'soapy' feel: it is thick-walled and coarsely potted with an admixture of small grit, and profusely ornamented on its body, rim, and part of its inner surface with cord impressions in herring-bone pattern.

The typological essentials of hollow neck, heavy rim, and shoulder are well preserved and stand about midway typologically, though not necessarily chronologically, in the suggested evolution of the familiar open bowl. The typical examples at Hedsor, Mortlake, Wisley, Mongewell (*V.C.H. Oxon*, i, pl. III), and the West Kennet long barrow (Cunnington, pl. XII, 10) are little removed in form. The last-named site also provides a good parallel (*op. cit.*, pl. XI, 81) for the zone of finger-nail ornament on the neck of No. 1 and this may also be seen at Stanton Harcourt, nearby (*Oxoniensia*, v, pl. II, c). No. 2 in a pale buff-pink fabric also has 'maggot' ornament on the inner side of the rim. No. 3, decorated with bird-bone punch-marks, is of a more unusual form, but, as Mr. Piggott has pointed out (*Arch. Journ.*, lxxxviii, 114), similar deep saucers or shallow open bowls have previously been noted in the Thames valley, and at Peterborough itself.

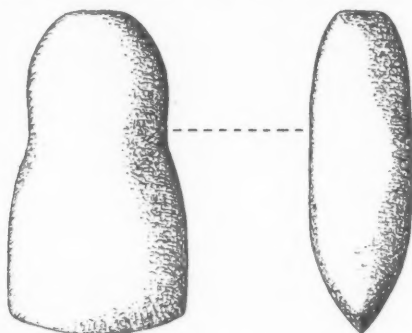
Miss B. M. Blackwood, who has kindly examined the animal bones, reports that these included part of the lower jaw and base of skull of young pig, and

¹ Cf. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 67 seq.

² *Ibid.* 68.

phalangeal bones of cow (one piece charred). The pottery has been photographed and published through the kindness of the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

Stone axe found at North Petherton, Somerset.—Mr. H. St. George Gray, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Somerset, sends the following note: An interesting stone axe, or celt, of Neolithic type was found in 1931 at the foot of a hedge at Pilot's Helm, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north-west of North Petherton church by a mole-



Stone axe found at North Petherton, Som. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

catcher named Robert Addison, since which it has remained in private hands; it has now been deposited in the Somerset County Museum.

As may be seen by the illustration ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear) the axe has a crescentic cutting-edge, bevelled from both faces; the bevelling is considerably polished. The implement is of igneous rock, medium-grained, dark brownish-black; grinding and subsequent weathering have rendered microscopic identification impossible. On either side there is a well-marked concavity, forming slight shoulders to the implement, intended no doubt to aid in the lashing of sinew or leather in hafting the axe into its wooden handle. The rounded butt-end shows clear evidence of hammering. The axe is $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (98.5 mm.) in length; width at edge 55 mm.; maximum thickness 31 mm.

A somewhat similar implement, of about the same size, found near Cottenham, Cambs., is figured by Evans, *Stone Implements*, 2nd edit., 1897, p. 135, fig. 80.

A flint implement in a horn handle from near Liddington Castle, Wilts.—Mr. A. D. Passmore writes: Liddington Castle, a prehistoric fort, stands on a hill 4 miles south-east of Swindon at an altitude of 911 ft. On the east end of the hill is a clump of trees, Liddington Folly, and immediately south of this are some curious pits which as seen from the air agree in detail with those seen in Sussex and known to be flint mines. Again, a little south is a small valley running south-east to the Swindon-Hungerford road, known as Moonlight Bottom, and just over the road is the chambered long barrow discovered by the writer some years ago.

In 1895 Jesse Bathe, the local flint-digger, discovered in this valley a curious collection of pottery, at that time put aside as of unknown date, but now seen to be Neolithic and almost exactly similar to that found at Abingdon. Close to this pottery, but not in actual contact, was the curious long flint in a horn handle here illustrated. Unfortunately, it was damaged by the spade, which broke away

the front of the socket. The flint is finger-shaped, 5 in. long, and has had one flake struck off nearly its whole length, leaving a gouge-shaped implement with a sharp edge; the end which engaged with the socket has been smoothed by friction with the horn and the sinew lashing which doubtless once held it in place. The top of the horn has been cut from an antler-shaft just above the brow line; it has been worked up to a flat dome shape for handling, probably as a tool for digging roots or a similar purpose. The whole implement is slightly over $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length.

Nearby is another site on which people lived and made fires, and by each hearth is a small heap of pottery trampled into small bits; the vessels had out-bent rims, and the paste is black and contains much chalk, some in large pieces. It is hoped to describe this habitation site, which is probably Neolithic, later.

Old Malton Priory.—Rev. J. S. Purvis, F.S.A., sends the following note:—In October 1942 a few trial trenches were cut on the site of the conventual buildings of Old Malton Priory, with a view to more extended excavation next year. These trenches showed that the whole area is covered to a depth of 3 ft. with a layer of debris from wrecked buildings, rubble, mortar, cement, and occasional blocks of worked stone, and that the monastic buildings had been very ruthlessly robbed. But sufficient was found to give encouragement for future explorations. One trench revealed a piece of solid wall, originally about 3 ft.

thick, with a door-jamb of blocks of free-stone each 1 ft. in height, six of which were traced vertically; this apparently belonged to a building lying to the south of the Chapter House. At a distance of 20 yards from the north-east angle of the cloister, another trench uncovered the monolithic shafts, $19\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, of twin columns, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, standing on the same massive base. This base was of excellent design and workmanship, with an unusually deep 'hold-water' moulding. One of the columns and the base had suffered severe damage, possibly by the collapse of a wall. The position would suggest that this work formed part of a vestibule to the Chapter House, but this cannot be verified until further digging is possible. No reliable plan of Old Malton Priory is in existence, nor any record however slight of controlled excavation. The house was Gilbertine,



Old Malton Priory

but for men only, and the whole of the original building scheme was carried out apparently between A.D. 1150 and 1220.

A medieval description of a bow and arrow.—Mr. F. Cottrill contributes the following: In 1297 one Simon de Skeftington, of Skeftington, Leics., was attacked by felons in a field near the neighbouring village of Tilton and killed by an arrow shot from a long-bow. The appeal of his brother Geoffrey against John de Tylton for this felony is set forth in De Banco Roll 123, Easter, 26 Edward I, 1298, m. 107, Leyc., a translation of which was published by the late George Farnham, F.S.A.¹ An unusually detailed description, with measurements, is given of the bow and arrow with which the crime was committed, also of the wound inflicted; the range, however, is not stated. The usefulness of this description for students of medieval archaeology may justify its republication here in the original Latin. The document is the property of the Public Record Office, and my thanks are due to Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., for permission to publish and for kindly providing a transcript; also to Mr. James G. Mann, F.S.A., for helpful suggestions. The passage is as follows:

... 'Et felonice ut felones predictum Simonem insultaverunt et predictus Johannes filius Simonis felonice ut felo sagittavit predictum Simonem de Skeftington de uno arcu et una sagitta barbata cujus sagitte caput fuit de ferro et acerro longitudinis trium pollicium hominis et latitudinis duorum pollicium et flecchia predictae sagitte fuit de fraxino longitudinis trium quarteriorum unius ulne et grossitudinis in circuitu unius pollicis et predicta flecchia pennata fuit de pennis pavonis et arcus fuit de juyo et corda de canabo, longitudinis arcus unius ulne et dimidie, grossitudinis in circuitu sex pollicium, longitudinis corde unius teysie et dimidie et grossitudinis in circuitu dimidii pollicis. Et sagitta illa fecit ei quendam plagam in sinistro latere subtus mamillam ad tres pollices de mamilla predicta deorsum et ad duos pollices del flaunk desursum, longitudinis plage trium pollicium, latitudinis duorum pollicium et profunditatis sex pollicium ita quod de plaga illa statim obiit in presenciam et visu predicti Galfridi fratris sui. . . '

The arrow-head was presumably hardened at the point, as it is said to be of iron and steel.² Its dimensions—a length of 3 in. and a breadth of 2—indicate a barbed head considerably larger than the one found at Rayleigh Castle, Essex,³ a site which had been abandoned by c. 1270, while specimens from Dyserth Castle, Flint, which was occupied between the years 1241 and 1263, are smaller still.⁴ The chronology of medieval arrow-heads is obscure, but barbed heads seem to have increased in size after the thirteenth century, and the one used at Tilton in 1297 would appear to have been an early example of this development. We may suppose that it belonged to Type 14 or 15 of Mr. Ward Perkins's classification.⁵ Hewitt⁶ cites several references to arrow-shafts winged with peacock feathers, as this one is described to be, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The lengths of the arrow-shaft and the bow-stave depend on the ell (*ulna*) used,

¹ *Leics. Arch. Soc. Trans.* xvi, 113.

² Cf. Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, ii, 271, quoting a statute of 7 Hen. IV (1405): 'Ordeigne est et establiz, qe toutz les testes de setes et quarels desore enavaunt affairs (à faire) soient boilles ou brases, et dures a la point dasser (d'acier).'

³ *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, fig. 17, no. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 17, nos. 14 and 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* 70.

⁶ *Op. cit.* ii, 273-4.

but the bow-stave would appear to have been longer than the 4-ft. bow, probably of the thirteenth century, found in the moat of Berkhamsted Castle.¹ The circumference of the Tilton bow-stave was 6 in., so that its thickness would be about 2 in.; the width of the Berkhamsted bow-stave is 2.2 in. It will be observed that the length given for the hempen bow-string, one teise (fathom) and a half, is excessive; possibly *et dimidie* after *teysie* is an error.

A Bronze Age hoard from Sturry, Kent.—Flt.-Lt. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Kent, sends the following note:—The bronze hoard illustrated in plate XIII was found recently among the roots of a tree in the top soil of a sand-pit at Broadoak, Sturry, near Canterbury. The pit is 300 yards north of Broadoak railway crossing, close to the boundary between Nackington and Sturry. It was secured for Canterbury Museum through the good offices of our Fellow, Dr. A. Godfrey Ince, and is published here by the permission of the Curator, Mr. F. G. Butcher. There is no record of the hoard, which is thought to be complete, having been contained in a pot, and on a subsequent visit to the site Dr. Ince and the writer could see no features of interest.

The pit lies about 50 ft. O.D. on the north bank of the Great Stour, which in Bronze Age times was a wide tidal inlet at least as far as Sturry. The natural advantages of the river side with its warm well-drained sandy soil and easy communication well into the hinterland of east Kent are made evident by the number and variety of Bronze Age antiquities distributed there.

The Broadoak hoard consists of some 17 pieces, namely 3 leaf-shaped spear-heads and the tip of another, a ferrule, a socketed gouge and fragment of another, the tip of a knife blade, 1 looped palstave, 4 looped and winged axes, 3 looped and socketed axes, a cake of fused metal, and a dozen small fragments of a flat and wide blade, perhaps the remains of a hog-backed knife.

1. Socketed leaf-shaped spear-head (pl. XIII, 7), a slender well-cast blade, length 9.4 in., with finely ground edges. The tip and most of the socket are broken and the weapon would be quite useless in its present condition.

2. Two leaf-shaped spear-heads with long sockets. The larger (pl. XIII, 6), length 7.7 in., has the pin-holes remaining and is complete except for a small section of the socket which has been broken recently. Probably it was in the smith's hands for regrinding. The smaller spear-head, length 5.9 in. (pl. XIII, 5), was much damaged in antiquity, and is fit only for remelting. There is also the tip of a fine spear-head like 1 (pl. XIII, 2), and 3 in. of a thin bronze tube (pl. XIII), probably part of a ferrule.

3. The socketed gouge is a tool of normal type (pl. XIII, 4), and like most of the hoard is broken and useless. There is also a small piece of another gouge.

4. The tip of a single-edged knife blade (pl. XIII, 1), and a fragment of a similar blade.

5. Looped palstave, length 6.3 in. (pl. XIII, 8), with deep stop-ridge. Both the cutting-edge and the butt are broken.

6. Three looped and winged axes (pl. XIII, 9, 10, 11), two from the same mould.

7. Looped and winged axe (pl. XIII, 12), length 5.8 in., with wide blade, wings near butt, and stop-ridge.

8. There are three looped and socketed axes (pl. XIII, 13, 14, 15), each with squarish mouth, 'structural' wings, and expanded cutting-edge. The largest is 4.1 in. in length, and the smallest 2.6 in.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 423.

The Broadoak hoard is a typical founder's or weapon smith's hoard. From a typological point of view the hoard raises no major problems, and it can be matched by several other hoards from the south-eastern corner of lowland Britain where contact between the native stock and the invading carp's-tongue sword people is well established. The absence of the familiar sword-type is interesting, and as Mr. Christopher Hawkes has pointed out elsewhere, perhaps denotes a contact with the invaders rather than their actual presence.

Since this was written a further find has been made on which a note will be published in a subsequent number of the Journal.

Two Prehistoric Mortars.—Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., read the following to the Society on 26th November 1942:—Considering the place mortars have so long occupied in the domestic economy of peoples, and their importance in pharmacy and, therefore, to medicine, we may note some of their prehistoric fore-runners. Those which suggested this communication proclaim the great antiquity of the category. They are preserved in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London, to the courtesy of whose Director I am indebted for being able to exhibit them to the Society.

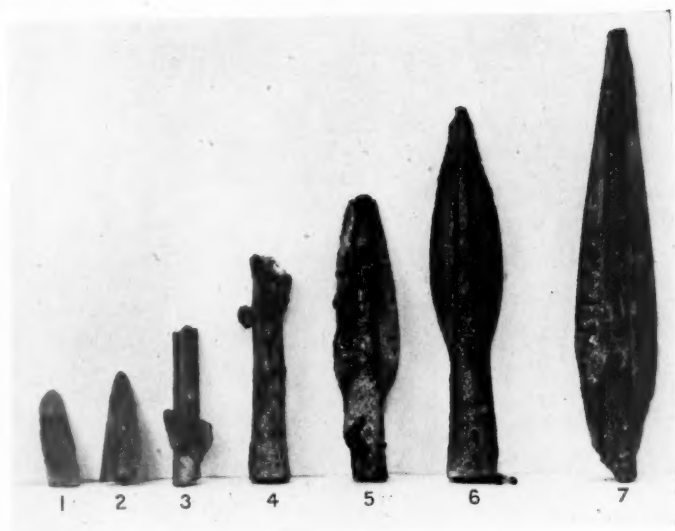
Mortars are seldom referred to as components of European prehistoric outfits, but querns are mentioned frequently. Both, as utensils for pounding substances, are cognate. Their origin lies in that convenient surface upon which it occurred to early man to crush something by means of a pestle or hammer.

A family resemblance exists between the simplest querns and mortars. In that most rudimentary form, the saddle-quern, the concave hollow results from the constant wearing down of the body by a rubber or roller, applied probably in the first instance to a wide depression in the stone. Undoubtedly the basin of the mortar also originated in a suitable natural cavity in a stone; later, the hollow may have been preparatively pecked out. Its modern direct descendant normally preserves the essential feature of a concave basin. Another successor is the undeveloped pot-quern, which in our islands is well expressed in the Scottish 'knockin' stane' used with a hafted heavy mall. The developed pot-quern with its revolving upper member combines the fundamental basin and the rubber or pestle.

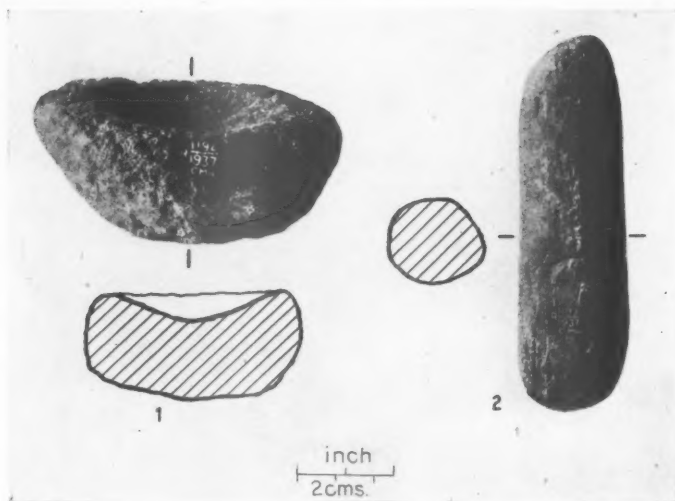
Because of its elementary character one is accustomed to think of the saddle-quern as the most ancient of milling appliances. It is familiar as an implement of the Neolithic Age when man is first known to have ground corn. Actually, implements like saddle-querns, and well-defined mortars also, go back very much farther, for examples have been found in Upper Palaeolithic contexts; but none of these Upper Palaeolithic forms could have been employed in the treatment of grain.

Many suggestive stones with worn cavities come from Aurignacian layers; and a mortar, presumably assignable to Aurignacian culture, has been reported from La Gorge d'Enfer, near Les Eyzies-de-Tayac (Dordogne).¹ More precise information, however, comes from Magdalenian stations, whence neither members of small mills and mortars have been recovered. The first are slabs worn by use on one face to a hollow matching that which characterizes Neolithic and later saddle-querns. Typical Magdalenian mortars consist of cobbles with shallow concave basins measuring but a few inches across. G. and A. de Mortillet have

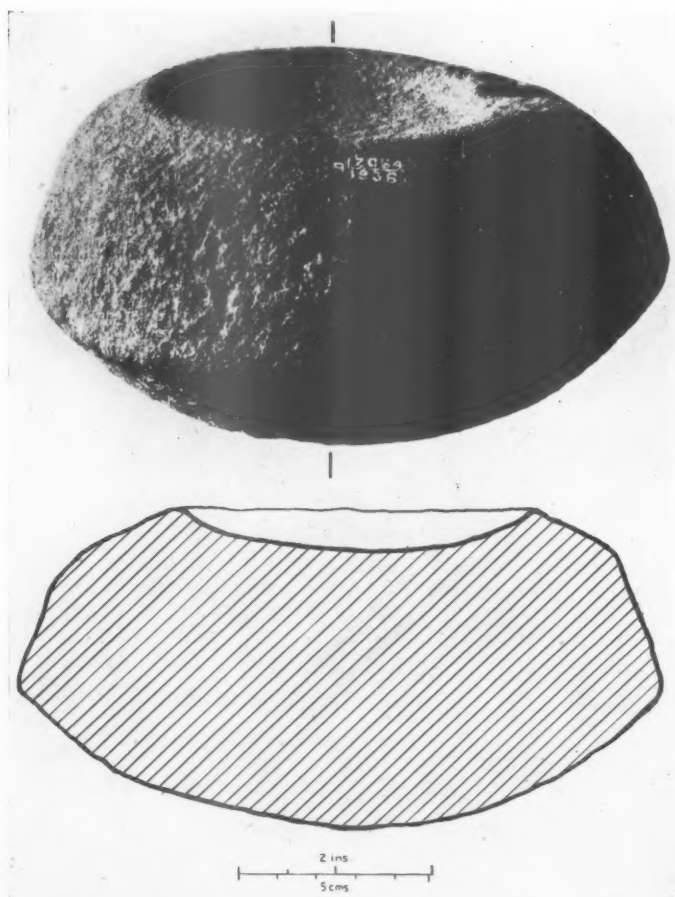
¹ *Musée Préhistorique* (1903), pl. xxii, no. 177.



Bronze hoard from Sturry, Kent



Mortar (1) and pestle (2): the Greeb, Sennen, Cornwall



Mortar: La Madeleine-de-Tursac (Dordogne)

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figured an elaborated specimen from La Madeleine-de-Tursac (Dordogne).¹ The cavity is encircled by a groove, probably for capturing the pounded matter which would inevitably escape from the basin during the process of trituration. The Abbé H. Breuil has commented on a similarly treated but smaller stone, which may be a mortar, from a Magdalenian floor at Saint-Marcel (Indre).²

None of the known Upper Palaeolithic examples of either type is large enough to have served in the preparation of food, but we can be sure of at least one of their purposes. It was surmised long ago that the stone basins were used for pulverizing mineral pigments. This conjecture was upheld by specimens from Laugerie-Basse, Tayac (Dordogne), which were seen to bear traces of colour.³ Further support comes from La Madeleine, where D. Peyrony found fragments of slabs concavely worn, utilized hollow stones, hammerstones, pestles, and earth pigments.⁴ His most telling discovery was a complete small slab worn down like a saddle-quern, associated with a stone rubber, several lumps of colour, and a palette.

The view which has been expressed that in mixing their paints, whether for personal decoration or for artistic ends, the Upper Palaeolithic folk used a fatty vehicle is confirmed by the Magdalenian spheroidal mortar from the classic namesite and now in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (pl. xiv). The sandstone of which it is composed has absorbed much red colour. The staining is deepest inside and immediately around the basin which, though pitted, appears not to have seen much service. Clearly, therefore, the raw colouring material was pounded up with a greasy substance—doubtless animal fat—in the depression. Its condition testifies to the well-known resistance of fatty substances to decomposition, especially when deprived of air.

It were needless to dwell upon the permanent nature of colours so prepared by the Magdalenians, whose paintings on cave-walls to-day excite our wonder. Their state of preservation proves the intimate and enduring union of pigment and vehicle. When the subject is considered from the angle of technology, it is remarkable that a relic can be brought forward which both indicates the methods followed by Upper Palaeolithic man and supports opinions advanced in the past by shrewd observers.

Like other contemporary artists' gear, these easily handled and portable Magdalenian implements were well suited to the conditions in which they were used.

Stones with small artificial basins are by no means confined to the older prehistoric periods. Pebbles with pronounced round artificial hollows occur sometimes in post-Palaeolithic contexts, and they are not uncommon as surface finds. While the purpose of many remains obscure, yet it is conceivable that a few may be mortars used in the preparation of small quantities of colour. For more than one reason the destination of a felspathic greenstone specimen in the Wellcome collection (pl. xiv, 1) leaves little room for question. It was picked up by the late Mr. J. G. Marsden at a prehistoric working-site at the Greb, Sennen, Cornwall, with small lumps of reddish and brownish clay and a stone industry

¹ *Ibid.*

² *L'Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 158.

³ Max Verworn, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1906, p. 646. The quartzite pebble with hollow from Laugerie-Basse, preserved in the British Museum, and figured in *A Guide to Antiquities of the Stone Age* (1926), p. 134, fig. 134, is a mortar rather than an anvil-stone.

⁴ 'La Madeleine' (*Publications de l'Institut International d'Anthropologie*, no. 2), 1928, p. 107, and fig. 65.

rich in microliths. The elliptical cavity is deeply worn, the smoothness in the centre being evidence of constant milling by a firmly held grinder. That this was the associated pebble (pl. xiv, 2) is most likely. Its two stubbed ends exhibit the same wear as numbers of well-used stone pestles I have examined. In this respect it may be pointed out that the signs of use differ quite from those abrasions which mark the extremities of the so-called flakers from many stone-working stations in remote localities, mainly on our west coasts.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Nassington, Northants.—Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., sends the following:—Early in July 1942 our Fellow, Mr. G. Wyman Abbott, whose admirable archaeological work around Peterborough has long been recognized by the Society, announced the discovery of a new Anglo-Saxon cemetery of considerable size in a gravel-pit at Nassington, Northants., in the Nene valley, a few miles north of Fotheringhay. Unfortunately the conditions of discovery made a thorough scientific exploration impossible, but archaeology owes a great debt to Mr. Abbott for his energy in rescuing the contents of more than forty graves; another five were carefully excavated and recorded by Mr. E. R. Martin and other members of Oundle School. Much useful information must have been destroyed by entire or partial looting of other graves by thoughtless treasure-seekers.

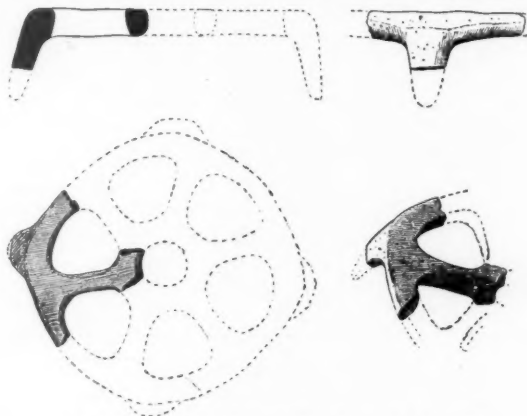
Later, in response to an appeal from Mr. Abbott and at my suggestion, Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson and Miss J. M. Morris, accompanied by Miss B. de Cardi of the London Museum, visited the site, but were only able to excavate three more graves. They, however, drew up a report which embraces the valuable records of Mr. Abbott's personal observations. These will be incorporated in a fuller report with explanatory notes, which I have undertaken to prepare at Mr. Abbott's request, together with Mr. Martin's report on the graves recorded by himself. In addition Dr. K. Fisher, Headmaster of Oundle School, has kindly placed at my disposal a large group of unassociated objects from the cemetery, which have recently been presented to the School Museum.

Any fresh light on the archaeology of the Nene Valley in early Anglo-Saxon times must always be welcome. A preliminary examination of the collections from Nassington has already shown that they will make a most important contribution to our knowledge of an area about which history is wellnigh silent in regard to the period of this and similar cemeteries. Very few cases of cremation were recorded, and the relics associated with inhumation burials comprise that mixture of Anglian and Saxon types that makes the archaeological study of Bede's Mid-Anglia particularly interesting.

A Belgic clay pot-stand.—Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., and Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., contribute the following note: The clay object illustrated below was found about 4 ft. from the surface in the excavation for brick-earth adjoining Mr. G. W. Almond's brickworks, near Pile Farm, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile north by west of Burnham, Bucks. (O.S. 6 in. Bucks. 52 SE.). Large numbers of potsherds have come from a trench demolished by the labourers and from the surrounding material at the site. The character of the wares and the exposure in the long trench, containing pyramids of small stones, burnt flints, charcoal, animal bones, and many pottery fragments, point to a Belgic habitation site. It is believed that the argillaceous deposit yielding the relics and the infilling of the trench, is a hill-wash indistinguishable from the underlying brick-earth, which rests upon gravel.

The ware of which the object is made contains some calcitic particles and varies

in colour from orange-red to brown and black, having the 'soapy' surface characteristic of much Belgic pottery. The complete form suggested by this curious fragment is that of a spoked wheel with feet at right angles to its plane. In the accompanying reconstruction it is shown as not quite circular, the 'wheel' being about 8 in. in diameter and having six spokes and a central opening, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. It has been provided with four feet, though in view of the smallness



A Belgic clay pot-stand from Burnham, Bucks. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

of the fragment this reconstruction is conjectural. It may be interpreted as a poor man's home-made substitute for a metal grid, used for placing in the glowing embers of a fire to support a cooking-pot. In general form it recalls a modern gas-ring. Support for this interpretation is given by the colouring, the under part of the 'wheel' and the surviving foot being a bright orange-red, while the upper surface is black and sooted. It can be approximately dated by the associated pottery. With the exception of a two-handled flagon of early type, this is all of native Belgic fabric and of a date prior to the Roman Conquest.

Reviews

The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World. By M. ROSTOVITZ. 3 volumes, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xxiv, 1779; 112 plates. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1941. £5. 5s.

Historians will have their own signal welcome for this great and long-expected work. But it will be echoed by many students of antiquity who are not historians professed, and in particular by archaeologists, quick to appreciate justly a period whose defective literary record enhances the value of their calling. Professor Rostovtzeff's skill in distilling history from archaeology is famous; and moreover, the purpose to which it helped to serve his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* gives a peculiar interest to this Hellenistic counterpart. For he there presented the Roman Imperial development, economic and social, as essentially a revival of the forms of the 'city capitalism', and of the fortunes of the city *bourgeoisie*, of the Hellenistic world; and he went on to display that revived and developed city *bourgeoisie* sharpening, by the inert exclusiveness to the working classes thus inherent in its nature, a fatal antagonism between city and country, which could only be resolved through the anarchy and the despotism of the Empire's decline and fall. His account of the society and economics of the Hellenistic world itself has therefore a fundamental place in his whole interpretation of antiquity; and archaeology in its various departments contributes so much to it that one can hardly consider the archaeological material he uses without at least touching upon the nature and significance of the interpretation itself.

However that be judged, this is one of the great books of a great scholar. And be it added that its form is worthy of its content: the three massive volumes are superbly produced by the Clarendon Press, to be a pleasure to read despite their physical weight; their many plates maintain a fine average of excellence; and a wise planning has disposed these throughout the text, leaving the whole of the third volume for the thousands of notes (many of them positively essays in themselves), together with the subsidiary matter that culminates in the exhaustive index, compiled by the author's wife.

He defines the Hellenistic world as comprising the area of Alexander's dominion, with such additions to it as were Greek in their structure and civilization; and in time he takes us from Alexander's death roughly to Actium. After a thorough summary of the period's political history, he introduces his main theme by surveying its economic and social background in the fourth century. It emerges from this that the foreign trade which had made the prosperity of Old Greece was failing: for the former recipients of her industrial exports—in the east, particularly the Pontic and Thracian regions, and in the west, above all, Italy and Sicily—had now become largely self-sufficient, and so were no longer cheap and ready markets in which to buy the foodstuffs and raw materials which Greece more than ever needed to import in return. Hence by the middle of the fourth century the Greek problem was not political turmoil merely, but a crisis of over-population and mass impoverishment, with what wealth there was shrinking into the hands of a narrowed *bourgeois* class, and the demand for industrial and consumption goods decreasing both abroad and at home.

This is the first major thesis of the book, and lest the archaeological reader think it irrelevant to him, he must realize it has been distilled almost entirely

from archaeological material. The analysis of the South Russian and Thracian grave-finds is (as one would expect) a particularly fine example of the process (with four lovely plates of Bulgarian tomb-treasures, too: the Panagurishte silver is especially arresting); and as regards Italy, the author remarks that while the archaeological material is immensely abundant, there has hitherto been no serious attempt to make this use of it. If any dispute the conclusions he draws from his summary filling of that deficiency, let them turn to and do it better themselves.

Next, the Greco-Macedonian conquest and colonization of the East transformed the situation by covering most of the conquered Persian Empire with a network of intercommunicating Greek cities. (The warfare of the Successors was only a partial handicap: their great standing armies and fleets were themselves potent agencies of a new distribution of wealth.) The inner economic life of the Persian Empire has been little studied (Heichelheim's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* was published in 1938 too late for full consideration here), but there can be no doubt of the contrast now afforded by the buoyant economic development of the East on Greek lines. At the outset, then, Alexander's conquests helped to set Greece on her feet again, by opening new markets for trade and new opportunities for emigration. But as the Hellenistic kingdoms attained their own measure of self-sufficiency, they slowly but continuously reduced this demand once more, and thus old Greece was again left a prey to impoverishment, revealed in the social unrest of the later third century and after, and the political struggles which made the opportunity of Rome. And one sees already what an essentially Greek creation was the period's *bourgeois* ideal of social and economic life, on the defensive against the peasantry and proletariat which, slave or free, were yet the indispensable instruments of civilization and prosperity; and how essentially Greek, in consequence, were the limitations which that ideal set to the Hellenistic achievement—and to the Imperial Roman likewise, in so far as that was the Hellenistic revived.

The core of the book is the 400 pages on the third-century period of the 'balance of power', with the ensuing 100 on its disintegration in the earlier second century. Here we are shown the Hellenistic achievement in terms of the problem which above all confronted Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria: that of establishing a *modus vivendi* between Greeks and natives, at first so different in their mentality and its material embodiments. Of the Syrian kingdom much the less is known, but its initial measure of success in solving this problem, primarily by city colonization, was certainly no more than partial. And it was too big to remain long entire. Thus, despite the renewal of positive effort by Antiochus III in the outgoing third century, the Hellenization of the Orient became at last in no small degree an Orientalization of Hellenism. In the handling of evidence so largely fragmentary, diverse in quantity and quality, and matter rather for indirect inference than direct synthesis, the author wisely leaves one always aware of its deficiencies, even while fascinated by his skill in making the most of it.

Its archaeological side, poor as a rule for the life and work of the country, comes chiefly from the excavation of cities. Among these the 'caravan cities' especially, familiar from an earlier book of Rostovtzeff's, introduce the absorbing subject of Far Eastern trade, and its routes from India and China, control of which was a vital object of Near Eastern royal policy.

The problem of social solidarity confronted the Ptolemies in a somewhat special form, due mainly to the historic character of Egyptian civilization. Rostovtzeff's exposition of the response worked out in the earlier phase of their rule cannot

be discussed in detail here. Egyptian conditions required the Greek superstructure to be imposed on the country without the ordinary network of cities (outside Alexandria, which was 'over against' Egypt rather than within it); and conversely, while there were of course settlements of Greeks everywhere, maintaining as far as possible Greek institutions in a country setting, the superstructure had to be kept up, and the exploitation of the masses carried on, by a bureaucratic system of extraordinary ingenuity and completeness. Through this the State was kept rich and powerful, and the *bourgeoisie* on which it depended was kept exclusive. But benevolent as the Ptolemies' intentions were, the masses of natives increasingly resented a rule at first wholly foreign, and always in effect, despite the more forward native policy of Philopator, ruthlessly totalitarian. The Ptolemies in fact were unable to solve their problem, and gradual decline and isolation were the result.

In Greece and Macedonia and in Hither Asia, of course, the whole later Hellenistic scene is pervaded by Roman intervention and domination. The efforts both of Antiochus III and Philip V to recapture Hellenistic stability provoked their own defeat by Rome, and the Roman hegemony thereafter became a domination, against which the great revolt of Mithridates failed, and left both Greece and Asia prostrate and unable to resist their utter humiliation and ruin in the Roman civil wars. It was indeed an important alleviating consequence of Roman intervention, in the economic sphere, that with the *rapprochement* that it made between what were now the two major parts of the civilized world, the Italian-centred West could offer the Hellenistic East an expanding market once more, and pour into it a new influx of capital and of human energy. But much of the capital was only its own loot reinvested; and much of the energy was directed to its further exploitation.

A good deal of the evidence underlying these reflexions is documentary, but the archaeological contribution is not limited to displaying the famous monuments of the later Hellenistic cities and the fine art which the shrinking of *bourgeois* wealth left more than ever a retainer of the plutocratic few. For archaeology has also much to reveal about material production. And a great part of the long 'Summary and Epilogue' which occupies the last 300 pages of the book is devoted to a survey of the whole period's social and economic features in which the sources and exploitation of its manifold wealth are reviewed, and its advances in technique considered. These advances, such as they were, are not confined to earlier Hellenistic times: land reclamation and agricultural improvement, for instance, and acclimatization of foreign plants and animals. Mining and metallurgy seem to have improved little, but the age was certainly a great one for engineering, as well as for architecture, and there were innovations, for example, in the pottery industry: the still mysterious first-century 'Anatolian faience' is a special case, but the superseding of painted by relief ornament, and the advance of the mould over the potter's wheel, are both notable not only technologically but as partial moves towards mass-production. Incidentally the history of the moulded 'Megarian' bowls, and of the change from earlier to later 'Pergamene' ware (see Dr. Waagé's excursus) will be interesting to students of the Terra Sigillata of the Roman West: the profiles on pp. 1640-1 of so many Eastern prototypes of familiar Dragendorff shapes remind one sharply how small the Empire made the ancient world.

Which brings us back, since material culture reflects the society that made it, to the problem of antiquity's decay and the much-debated role of Rostovtzeff's

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bourgeoisie. When all is said, Hellenistic advances in material technique were inadequate, or at least turned to inadequate account. In the political, intellectual, and religious fields, but also in the social and economic, 'the Hellenistic world in itself was a stupendous creation of the Greek genius, and it had a far-reaching influence on the future'. But it was a failure. Beginning with a phase of intense creation, its nature handicapped its own development. And Rome indeed accentuated, but cannot be blamed as initiating, the process of its disintegration and destruction. The creative and the destructive forces were an antinomy inherent in Greek society itself, to which Alexander added the further one between Greek and Oriental. Hellenistic history shows these two antinomies merging into the eternal dialectic of rulers and ruled, 'haves' and 'have-nots', *bourgeoisie* and masses, and—in Rostovtzeff's interpretation of it, as of Roman history after—city and country.

Looking back over his great work with this problem in mind, one complaint, in particular, suggests itself: we have learnt much about the cities, but about the country we do not know nearly enough. How far can one bracket together the urban proletariat with the peasantry? How far were the citizens conscious of the country point of view? The tension between city and country itself arose because they were indissolubly tied together; to gauge its force we should be able to size up the character of each, and yet of the country too much still seems to elude us. This is a cue for archaeology. For the study of the same problem in Roman Britain archaeology has in the last twenty years begun to bring the country as well as the cities into effective view: nearly everywhere in the East (for Egypt is a special case) even that beginning has yet to come. What sort of a country-side was it that Mithridates raised in such fury against its oppressors? And what sort of a country-side had Mithridates behind him in Pontus? If the excavators of Hellenistic cities can raise up a progeny to be excavators of villages and farmsteads too, archaeology may yet reveal much that is now hidden even from the synoptic eye of a Rostovtzeff. But it will take it a long time to do that. And meanwhile all students of the past, whether they be archaeologists or no, have in this book a rich treasury of things to ponder, to discuss, and to enjoy.

C. F. C. HAWKES.

The Rock Pictures of Lower Nubia. By J. H. DUNBAR. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x+100. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo, 1941. Piastres 135.

The production of this work is in accordance with the high standard of all the previous publications by the Egyptian Government's Antiquities Department, so familiar to all Egyptologists in Europe and America, both in respect to technique and material. The mere fact that what, under normal conditions, might be considered an *édition de luxe*, was published during this period of the greatest war in history is a sufficient guarantee of the merit and importance of the work. Hitherto, with a few notable exceptions, most of the publications on the subject of prehistoric rock pictures have been by non-British archaeologists. These latter are in many cases highly controversial in character as their conclusions are not always based upon scientific facts as revealed by much of the field work by British and American archaeologists during the last twenty years. Col. Dunbar had the advantage of discussing and obtaining the views of most of the leading European and American archaeologists during his travels. The work is not local in its character. The various forms of technique, water-transport (boats, etc.), appear-

ance and migration of fauna, increase in desert conditions accelerated by abandoned cultivation, etc., which have formed the subject of specialized research by the numerous writers cited by the author are in some cases applicable elsewhere. The publication now under review is the result of the author's field work in Egypt, Nubia, and the Sudan, supplemented by visits to well-known sites in Spain, France, Scandinavia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, etc. Most misleading chronologies have been published upon the mere appearance of weather-worn but comparatively modern rock-drawings. The history of metallurgy has developed considerably and in consequence presents many anomalies and problems, but no one will venture to dispute the chronology which is based on scientific facts such as the prehistoric Nile levels shown in the author's time-chart. This is most restrained, and the typical examples photographed can be seen sited in their respective stratifications or levels to which they are assigned, since the prehistoric Sebilian period. The chronologies assigned by the late Dr. Frobenius and that of the late Dr. Schweinfurth, more particularly that of the latter to the first appearance of the camel in Africa, must be regarded with caution. Unfortunately the rock upon which the drawing of the camel was made and upon which Dr. Schweinfurth based his chronology has been destroyed. This historical document is now lost. It and the camel-hair rope discovered by Miss Caton Thompson were the authorities for many dogmatic statements as to the antiquity of the domesticated camel in Africa, a matter dealt with by Col. Dunbar in his section on the fauna and its migration. In conclusion, the work can be considered as definitely authoritative and important to all Egyptologists and a model which all interested or writing upon the subject of rock drawings should consult. There is an extensive and useful bibliography cited in the text dealing with prehistoric art and field work.

A. E. R.

Gotlands Bildsteine, Vol. 1. By SUNE LINDQVIST. 12 × 9½. Pp. 152. Stockholm: Wahlström and Widstrand, 1941. 35 Kr.

Sveriges Runinskrifter, Vol. VI; *Upplands Runinskrifter*, Part 1. By ELIAS WESSENS. 12 × 9½. Pp. 268. Stockholm, Wahlström and Widstrand, 1940. 30 Kr.

The sculptured gravestones of the island of Gotland form a series the extent and interest of which are unparalleled in early medieval Scandinavia. The importance of an adequate publication of this material has long been realized, and Dr. Lindquist pays a well-deserved tribute to those workers whose careful records and painstaking research have rendered possible the present publication, which is sponsored by the Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities. This volume contains a complete survey of the stones, which are classified according to their form and technique, a discussion of the ornament, and short chapters on chronology and on the comparative material.

The classification is admirably worked out. The first two categories, with comparatively simple ornament and a flat incised technique, represent an original impulse developed locally apparently in deteriorating economic conditions. Class C is the result of a new inspiration working on the native tradition, which it revivifies by introducing an improved technique and new ornamental motives. The number and the magnificence of the stones attributed to this period suggest a new access of prosperity. Class D consists of a small group or groups of monuments confined to the south of the island, while the older tradition survives in

the north. If one who is not familiar with the original monuments may offer a criticism of the classification, it is that this class would appear more logically as a sub-group of C and so emphasize the continuity between C and E which is implicit in the author's argument though not formally stressed. Class E, with its late Jellinge and Ringerike ornament, represents the merging of the native tradition with the style dominant throughout Scandinavia. The barbaric vigour and restless turmoil of this style contrast vividly both with the early formal and geometrical art and with the representational scenes of the middle period. Its adoption marks the end of the characteristic series of early Gotland. Occasional examples like Sanda and Hablingbo illustrate the transitional period when the two schools existed side by side and prove that the carvers of Class D (and C) were still at work when the new style reached the island at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Dr. Lindqvist's discussion of the content of the sculptures is full and illuminating. One regrets that when discussing the ships which figure so largely on these stones he did not attempt to relate the types with the actual boats recovered in Viking and pre-Viking ship burials, which are often closely dated. Such a correlation would have afforded a valuable aid to the dating of the stones, and we feel that it would have suggested a rather later beginning for Class C than that actually arrived at. In particular, the attempt to interpret the purpose of the stones and to connect some of the scenes with Norse mythology is a valuable and illuminating contribution. (In this connexion cf. *Antiquity*, xvi, 216.)

The discussion of the chronology is less satisfactory. The beginning of Class E in the early eleventh century is tied beyond all dispute. For the earlier periods the author relies mainly on comparisons with small objects of metal, etc. (e.g. brooches). After mentioning the difficulties of the dating of runes he dismisses the aid of this branch of archaeology on the ground that its conclusions are as yet too uncertain. It is, however, clear that the orthodox chronology of the runes does not bear out the conclusions of this volume, and Dr. Lindqvist admits that the Tjangvid stone which he ascribes to the eighth century is attributed by runologists to the ninth. It is therefore legitimate to examine the grounds on which rest the attribution of the beginning of Class C to *circa* 700. Much stress is laid on the plaitwork borders which also appear on small objects at Vendel and elsewhere about 700. It is argued that these plaits, being of Irish origin, were introduced at that date rather than a century later when Carolingian influence was stronger. This conclusion is further supported by details of the drawing on certain stones, which are rightly compared to Style II of Salin, and by the discovery of a metal belt-plaque of the same style at the foot of an unornamented stone of this class. (It should be noted that the stone in question could be more justly placed in Class B, though it stands beside an ornamented example of Class C.) Finally, the great increase in material wealth manifest in the graves of Gotland and Uppland about 700 is held to be an additional argument for placing the beginning of Class C at this date. None of these arguments is conclusive, and the first is open to a very different interpretation. The ribbon plaits ascribed to Ireland are a part of the Durrow inheritance which influences a series of eighth-century Saxon manuscripts such as the Echternach Gospels. The same plaits also appear in eighth- and ninth-century Saxon stonework. Either of these sources may well have inspired the same motives on the stones of Gotland. The flat style of these suggests that their design was influenced by manuscript ornament which may also have inspired the figure scenes. Manuscript from a Carolingian or Saxon source may be suggested, and in this case the date can hardly be before 800. A more likely period is that of the missionary

activity of St. Anskar which covered the forty years ending with his death in 865. Nor are these the only indications of a later date than that suggested by Dr. Lindqvist. The interlaced ribbon beasts bordering the top of Tjangvid I and Ardre VIII suggest a comparison with Jellinge work of the early tenth century (e.g. the wooden horse collars at Copenhagen), and certain details (e.g. the interlocked triangles on Stenkyrka Lillbjars I) reappear on coins from Birka which are not earlier than the ninth century. The shorter period covered by Classes C and D would accord more nearly with the essentially uniform character of the series.

Dr. Lindqvist's dating of the earliest stones to the sixth century rests mainly on analogies with small objects, but his comparison with contemporary monuments in Spain and the south affords valuable confirmation.

Dr. Wessens' catalogue of the runic monuments of Uppland covers one-half of the material from that province. It forms part of the admirable scientific catalogue of the Swedish Academy, the first fascicle of which was published in 1900. Each monument is minutely described with an historical note and a detailed epigraphical and linguistic commentary. Both these volumes are admirably illustrated with photographs. In most cases painting was necessary to bring out the shallow detail, but many of the more important monuments are figured twice, the second plate with the detail untouched enabling the scholar to check the reconstruction of the design.

C. A. R. R.

Report on Excavations at Wroxeter (the Roman City of Viroconium) in the County of Salop 1923-1927. By DONALD ATKINSON, M.A., F.S.A. 10×6½. Pp. xviii+387, with 50 plates. Published for the Birmingham Archaeological Society by the Oxford University Press, 1942. 21s.

All students of Roman Britain will welcome the appearance of this long-awaited report on the Wroxeter Excavations of 1923-7. The Forum of Viroconium and the underlying Baths form one of the major finds of the period, and it was tantalizing to all students to have had only brief interim reports to which to refer for such a long time.

Even such comparatively well-known periods as the first century and a half of the Roman occupation of Britain are capable of producing surprises. The discovery of the fine bath building beneath the second-century Forum at Viroconium is in itself rather surprising, but the fact that it was never finished is still more so, and it indicates that all was not well with the ordered development of the city. For a period of some forty years the principal site in the centre of the city must have remained an area of builder's debris, until possibly a visit of Hadrian stimulated the inhabitants to finish the layout of their city. The town-planners of the nineties were apparently more ambitious than either the state of civilization of the Coritani or of the city finances justified.

Professor Atkinson has made a thorough study of the layout of the Baths, and has suggested the purpose of the different rooms with considerable probability. The evidence that the Baths were never completed is quite definite, since in several rooms undisturbed soil was left standing well above the level at which the hypocausts should have been inserted, and in others the furnaces were never constructed. It is also probable that a *palaestra* was planned for the space between the Baths and Watling Street, but of this there was no trace except the extended façade of the Baths which must have been meant to form one side. Professor Atkinson's suggestion that military labour was imported to construct the Baths is

interesting, but requires more evidence than is provided by a military camp kettle and pioneer's axe.

The outstanding points of interest about the Forum are the discovery of the magnificent inscription which was placed over the entrance from Watling Street, and the finding *in situ* of the contents of the stalls at the time when the Forum was destroyed by fire about A.D. 160. The inscription is one of the finest found in this country, and must almost certainly have been the work of a foreign craftsman. The contents of the stalls are interesting both as showing the wares offered for sale in a country town and as providing excellent dated groups of pottery. Professor Atkinson has, as with the Baths, studied the relation of the Forum to other Fora very thoroughly, and has shown the development of the type, so common in western Europe, and its debt to the official military buildings, from which he gives the type the name Principia. One point which he has not discussed is that of the colonnade crossing the centre of the courtyard, for which he has not adduced any parallels. Another point which is not satisfactorily solved is that of the curved foundations added in the second period. As designed to add further space for stalls in the internal colonnade, they were both unsatisfactory and in fact cut off more space than they added. Without actually seeing the walls and studying the stratification, it is, however, difficult to suggest a more convincing explanation.

But though the problems of the use of the structures and parallels are studied with scholarly thoroughness, it is difficult to say the same of the technical details of the excavation. This may in part be the penalty of the long delay in publication, for in the interval excavation technique has made considerable progress, but this is not the complete explanation, since in many respects the report of the 1912-14 Wroxeter Excavations is superior. The worst detail is the drawn sections, which show very little understanding of the problems of stratigraphy. Almost every single section may be criticized in this respect, but the following examples may be given. In fig. 29 the same layer fills the foundation trenches of the Baths walls, crosses their destroyed tops, and fills the foundation trenches of the Forum walls; in fig. 7 the pre-Forum floors are shown as running right up to the Forum walls, which however are drawn as faced masonry; hardly any sections look as if they were measured, as floors seldom run so straight and parallel as is shown, for instance, in fig. 27; fig. 51 of the City Ditch is inadequate in the extreme, and no stratification at all is shown. The lettering on many of the sections is very difficult to read; fig. 12 is the worst example. Finally, it is very seldom satisfactory or necessary to use a different scale for the horizontal and vertical measurements, since a distorted picture is inevitably given. Another unsatisfactory point is that the report does not in most places read as if stratification was used to determine the relative date of the walls, for instance on p. 81. The photographs are good in themselves, but would have been improved by better cleaning of the walls, etc., and by the absence of stray tools, baskets, and other oddments lying about.

The treatment of the pottery and objects is very thorough, particularly that of the decorated and signed Samian. It is, however, to be regretted that with such a large group of assured contemporaneity, no illustration is given of the range of plain forms, which would have been valuable to less fortunate excavators.

The following misprints may be noted: p. 127, last paragraph, fig. 48 should read 47; figs. 49-51 are misnumbered in the text by comparison with the index; on p. 335 the last two lines have been transposed.

K. M. K.

Periodical Literature

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 70, pt. 2:—The study of prehistoric times, by H. J. E. Peake.

Antiquity, September 1942:—Ancient mining processes as illustrated by a Japanese scroll, by C. N. Bromehead; Bees in Antiquity, by Grahame Clark; Sigurd in the art of the Viking Age, by Hilda R. Ellis; The Book of Aneirin, by Colin A. Gresham; The antiquity and function of antler axes and adzes, by V. Gordon Childe; Homer and the Odyssey: another point of view, by C. Hardie, with rejoinder by Stanley Casson.

December 1942:—Hero memorial-stones of Kathiawar, by J. Hornell; Neolithic culture of the Hebrides, by Sir Lindsay Scott; Some South Pembrokeshire cottages, by Sir Cyril Fox; The 'Hurrian' language, by Sidney Smith; Cremation and inhumation in the Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, by J. N. L. Myres; The revival of Berber art, by W. H. C. Frend; Ceramic art in Early Iran, by V. Gordon Childe; Cave-paintings, Lescaux, by W. H. Riddell.

The Archaeological Journal, vol. 98:—Master Elias of Dereham and the King's works, by A. Hamilton Thompson; Dea Brigantia, by Norah Jolliffe; Noble Canonesses of France, by Dr. Joan Evans; The development of Dunnottar Castle, by W. Douglas Simpson; The study of historical portraits, by H. M. Hake; A late Bronze Age settlement on Trewey Downs, Zennor, Cornwall, by D. Dudley; The ancient highways of Devon, by G. B. Grundy; The ancient highways of Cornwall, by G. B. Grundy; A classification of Tudor domestic wall-painting, pt. i, by F. W. Reader.

The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd ser., vol. 6:—Late Saxon sculpture in Northern England, by T. D. Kendrick; The medieval Office of Works, by J. H. Harvey; The windmill in English medieval art, by J. Salmon; The intrusive elements in Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic style, by K. D. M. Dauncey.

The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Jan. 1943:—The Greek discovery of perspective: its influence on Renaissance and Modern Art, by G. R. Levy.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Autumn, 1942:—Officer, 7th Queen's Own Hussars, 1843, by Rev. P. Sumner; Brihuega, December, 1710, by C. T. Atkinson; An officer, 80th Foot, circa 1816, by Rev. P. Sumner; Badges of Kitchener's Army, by E. J. Martin; The expedition to Kertch, 1855, by Brig.-Gen. H. Biddulph; Order book, 2nd Batt. 3rd Foot Guards, Germany, 1761–2, by Rev. P. Sumner; The Army under the Early Hanoverians, by C. T. Atkinson.

Winter, 1942:—Officers of the 11th Hussars, circa 1865, by Rev. P. Sumner; The Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, 1793–1802, by Maj. G. F. C. Stanley; Officers of the 15th Hussars, circa 1850, by Rev. P. Sumner; Some tailors' bills, 3rd Dragoons, 1784–86, by Rev. P. Sumner; Foreign regiments in the British Army, 1793–1802, pt. 1: general, by C. T. Atkinson; Orders issued at the Cape, 1808 to 1810, by Rev. P. Sumner.

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The Annual of the British School at Athens, no. 38:—Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi, ii, by H. W. and J. D. S. Pendlebury and M. B. Money-Coutts; Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi, iii. Karphi: a City of Refuge of the Early Iron Age in Crete. Excavated by students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–39; The Flowers of Lasithi, by P. H. Davies.

No. 39:—Excavations in Ithaca, iii; The Cave at Polis, ii, by S. Benton; The date of the Cretan shields, by S. Benton; The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae, by H. Thomas; Report on the Lesbos charcoals, by W. Lamb and H. Bancroft; A sixth-century Poros inscription from Attica, by L. H. Jeffery; Unpublished inscriptions from Beroea, by J. M. R. Cormack; Notes on some sculptures in the Acropolis Museum, by C. Karouzos.

The Burlington Magazine, August, 1942:—The pictures at Hampton Court; Chinese utilizations of parti-coloured hardstones, by W. L. Hildburgh; A Book of Hours from the Limbourg atelier, by R. Schilling.

September 1942:—A group of Near Eastern Glasses, by R. J. Charleston; Domestic furnishing of the time of Charles II, by R. W. Symonds; Matthew Paris and Villard de Honnecourt, by Betty Kurth.

October 1942:—Chinese snuff-boxes in parti-coloured hardstones, by W. L. Hildburgh; Ancient Nigerian bronzes, by Sir R. Palmer.

November 1942:—An approach to the baroque art of Czechoslovakia, by O. Kokoschka; The monuments of Sanchi, by H. Buchthal; A note on the Fryer monument at Harlton, Cambridgeshire, by M. Whiffen.

December 1942:—Dutch pottery and glass, by W. B. Honey; The Dutch home and its furniture, by R. W. Symonds.

January 1943:—An embossed visor of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, by James G. Mann.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 29th October 1942. Professor Sidney Smith, Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. Sidney Harold Loweth was admitted a Fellow.

Professor Dorothy Garrod, F.S.A., read a paper on the cave-paintings of Lascaux, Dordogne.

Thursday, 26th November 1942. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair. Sir Eric Maclagan, F.S.A., and Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, read a paper on a leaden mortuary chalice from Haselton churchyard, Glos.

Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., read a paper on two prehistoric mortars.

Commander C. A. F. Schaeffer, Hon. F.S.A., read a paper entitled 'News about Gallo-Roman archaeology'.

Thursday, 28th January 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

Charles Clive, Viscount Mersey, was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. Charles Mitchell read a paper on the revival of history in English eighteenth-century painting.

Thursday, 25th February 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

The following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1942: Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Mr. A. Gardner, Mr. E. C. Ouvry, and Mr. E. S. M. Perowne.

Dr. O. Paecht read a paper on the historical and artistic merits of the *Notitia Dignitatum* MS. in the Bodleian Library.

Thursday, 25th March 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

Mr. Richard Pearson Wright was admitted a Fellow.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. Basil Megaw, Mr. Richard Leonard Atkinson, Miss Jocelyn Mary Catherine Toynbee, Miss Kathleen Major, Mr. Leon Edgar Stephens, Rev. George Henniker-Gotley, Mr. Foster Stearns, Mr. Bernard Joseph Wallis, Brigadier Oliver Gullilan Frederick Hogg, Mr. Thomas Stockton Gowland, Mr. Richard Henry Whiteing, Mrs. Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop, Mr. Sidney Hodgson, Mr. Robert Thomas Jenkins, Mr. John Seymour Lindsay, Mr. Edwin William Ganderton, Mrs. Margaret Davies, Mr. Frederic Gordon Roe, Mr. William Grant Keith, Mrs. Cecil Louisa Curle, Rev. John Lionel Fisher, Mr. Leslie Alfred Sheppard, Mr. Evan John Jones, Rev. Alyn Arthur Guest-Williams, Mr. William James Smith, and, as an Honorary Fellow, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison.

Obituary Notice

ROBIN GEORGE COLLINGWOOD. Born 1889: Died 9 January 1943

Robin George Collingwood was born in 1889, and passed away, in the shadow of his native Lakeland hills, on 9th January 1943. His death at so early an age robs this Society of one of its most gifted and brilliant members, and it may fairly be said that his genius had burnt itself out. To understand the remarkable qualities which made of Collingwood a unique archaeologist, it is necessary to appreciate his antecedents. His father, William Gershom Collingwood, was an author, an artist, an archaeologist, and the secretary and biographer of Ruskin, who was steeped in the extreme delicacy of perception which marks and sometimes mars Ruskin's work and whose landscapes, like his exquisite Lakeland tales, combine brilliant technique with vivid and powerful imagination. All these gifts the son inherited and applied them to disciplined learning with inspiring results. His education at Rugby, followed at Oxford by Firsts in Moderations and Greats, took conventional lines, though the pupil's views of the matter, later reflected in his Autobiography, would have somewhat startled some of his mentors. His versatility at least was early appreciated: for while Pembroke College elected him as Fellow and Tutor, destined to teach philosophy, Haverfield picked out his artistic, archaeological, and scholarly gifts and chose him to illustrate topographical articles on the Roman forts of northern Britain and presently to collaborate in producing and illustrating a complete edition of the Roman inscriptions of Britain. When the latter work, now reaching its final stages in yet another editor's hands, is published, the learned world will know how much it owes to Collingwood's superb draughtsmanship which always equals and often surpasses his father's drawing, infamously reproduced in *Northumbrian Crosses*. His preoccupation with topography and inscriptions, controlled and stimulated by the philosopher's outlook, did not preclude Collingwood's interest in other fields of Romano-British studies. His passion for synthesis led him to survey the whole and to write some papers of fundamental importance. His severe corrections, on numismatic evidence, of flights of fancy concerning the late-Roman occupation and on literary evidence or *Quellenforschung* of traditions concerning Hadrian's Wall, are now accepted as axiomatic: few remember their telling effect when they were new. Gradually his net swept wider, taking in the entire archaeology of the province in his *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, its social and cultural significance in his *Roman Britain*, a brilliant study which held its own even against Haverfield's superb Academy essay, and its history in the Romano-British section of *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. So much a student of Roman Britain may admire, and then turn to delve among the innumerable and obscure sources for that study which Collingwood illuminated with lavish pen. But there were many others, students in other fields, who owed him as much if not more. His University lectures and tutorials in philosophy were the delight of those who received them, for they possessed a lucidity and a sense of direction altogether rare among his academic contemporaries. Indeed their lucidity and exquisite delivery were sometimes their undoing: for the more brilliant academic minds, forgetting that lucidity is harder to achieve and is later developed than subtlety, were apt to mistake his assured manner for sophistry, little knowing the broad foundation of polymathy and the acutely sensitive mind upon which it was based. Time will

alter that impression as his works are read and appreciated. Where there is so much to praise, there can be little room for blame. If Collingwood had a fault, it was that of over-generosity to his students and fellow scholars. He used to say that he spent much time in 'boiling other people's kettles'; and only those who knew him intimately, caught glimpses of his post-bag, saw how many proofs of other works lay upon his study table, or discussed problems with him will know how true this was. A problem put before him, or facts which he perceived as setting or answering a problem, were analysed and dissected by his penetrating bird-like mind with what often seemed uncanny speed and divination. No one knew until the latter years what this cost him in nervous energy and cerebral overstrain. But there was a time when to his friends and fellow workers his presence was a lighthouse and the outer world black. Human sympathy he had in abundance, combined with intense regard for truth and hatred of shams in human relationships. The intensity manifests itself in his *Autobiography*, while shams are unmasked with pitiless logic side by side with a call to kindlier virtues in his *New Leviathan*. *The New Leviathan* is his last work, of which the closing chapters were written under the shadow of Armageddon, when he himself was a physical wreck, tortured by cerebral haemorrhage and able to write often only a few words a day. It has been variously hailed, and not a few tributes have already been paid to its power and value as a guide to social conduct. It is indeed a superb analysis of the foundations of society, sufficiently provocative to outlast our generation and to establish its author among the serious English social philosophers. But Collingwood's kindliness, acumen, and versatility are wrapped up in the hearts of his friends and in the memory of his contemporaries.

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